L. Jones

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THE SECRET HISTORY OF *WHITE-HALL*,

FROM

The Reſtoration of CHARLES II. down to the Abdication of the late K. JAMES.

Writ at the Requeſt of a Noble Lord, and convey'd to him in Letters, by ——— late Secretary-Interpreter to the Marquiſs of *Louvois*, who by that means had the Peruſal of all the Private Minutes between *England* and *France* for many Years.

The whole conſiſting of SECRET MEMOIRS, which have hitherto lain conceal'd, as not being diſcoverable by any other Hand.

Publiſhed from the Original Papers.

In TWO PARTS.

By *D. JONES*, Gent.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed for *D. Brown*, *A. Bell*, *J. Darby*, *A. Betteſworth*, *J. Pemberton*, *C. Rivington*, *J. Hooke*, *R. Cruttenden* and *T. Cox*, *J. Battley*, and *E. Symon*. M.DCC.XVII.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

THE PREFACE.

I Do not queſtion but the Reader will expect ſomewhat ſhould be premiſed, by way of Satisfaction to ſuch Scruples as may be ſuggeſted in general, concerning the Authenticknes of the enſuing Letters; which, as I conceive, are reducible to the following Heads, viz. An Account of the Author, and the Means whereby he got his Intelligence; the Verity of the Matters related; the Nature of the Correſpondence; and what part the Methodizer has had in the Undertaking. I ſhall therefore endeavour to give as diſtinct and ſatisfactory a Solution of each Particular, as may reaſonably be expected, or the Circumſtance of the Things will juſtly admit of.

First then for the Author, and his Intelligence. The firſt time he went over into France, was in the Year 1675. where he had not ſtay'd above a Year, but that the Place of General Commis, or Clark of the Diſpatches, and Particular Commis Interpreter to that great French Miniſter of State, the Marquiſs de Louvois, for the Affairs relating to our three Kingdoms, falling vacant by the Death of one Mr. Kilpatrick, a Scotchman's Son, that ſame Imployment was conferred by him upon

a Frenchman, *a Favourite of his, named* Belou; *who underſtanding no* Engliſh, *and therefore not being able to manage the Affair without an* Engliſhman, *our Author was recommended to him for that Service* (*as he hints in his firſt Letter*) *which yet you are to note by the way, was not the firſt he writ from that Country to that noble Perſon he correſponded with, and to whom he was previouſly engaged to tranſmit all the Intelligence he could learn of the Proceedings of the* French Court, *before he entred upon the ſaid Imployment,* (*but they being not very material, he took no care to preſerve the Tranſcripts by him*) *and continued to be Interpreter of the* Engliſh *Tongue till after the time of our Grand Revolution, when he came over into* England; *where his ſtay was not long, but he was imploy'd by the ſame noble Perſon to return into* France *again: where the dangerous Part he was to act may be better conceived than now expreſt, and concerning which you may hear more hereafter.*

It's no hard matter to imagine what Qualifications were neceſſary to recommend our Author to the Imployment afore noted, and how far his Out-ſide muſt differ from his In-ſide during his aboad there; which together with that part which he has acted in that Kingdom, ſince his preſent Majeſty King WILLIAM's *Acceſſion to the Throne, and that he knows not how ſoon he may ſtill be engaged to return* (*tho he be at preſent in* London) *are Reaſons of themſelves, without ſuperadding any other, of the many that might be produced, more than ſufficient for the Suppreſſion of his Name, and of my being engaged in the Work; which yet rather than Truth ſhould ſuffer, I am ſatisfy'd he will be as forward to render as well known to the World, as 'tis to that noble Perſon who has imploy'd him.*

I am of Opinion, the Reader *will be much better perſuaded of the Verity of the Facts, as well as much more pleaſed with the new Diſcoveries of State-Myſteries he will meet with here, by the Peruſal of the Work himſelf, than by any thing I can pretend to ſay in the Defence*

of

of the one, or the Commendations of the other. And were it not to obviate a vulgar Error and Objection that I foresee would be made upon this Subject, That all that could be writ has been written already, concerning the late Reigns, *I should dismiss it; but now I am necessitated not to single out, but promiscuously to call to mind a few Heads (for to make an Enumeration of all the remarkable* Particulars, *were to run through the Contents of every individual* Letter) *and to ask the* Objector, *where it is he meets with an exact Account of the* Private League *between King* Charles II. *and the* French *King; The Duke of* York's *secret Correspondence with that Court;* Coleman's *Intervention with both for his own Advantage; The Interest the* French *made both in* England *and* Holland *among the several* Sects *and* Parties *of Men, to prevent the late Queen's being married to his present Majesty; The Methods concerted to trapan her into* France *with her Father's Concurrence, and how prevented; Father* St. Germain's *attempting King* Charles *the Second in his Religion, with the King's Answer,* &c. *His unseasonable boasting of it, the Occasion of his Flight into* France, *and the Censure he underwent from those of his Order for it;* Coleman's *Wife's Petition to the* French *King, the Answer, and her destroying her self; Monsieur* le Tellier's *Speech about the Invasion of* England; *The Duke of* York's *Perversion to the Church of* Rome; *King* James's *Private League with* France, *when Regnant; The Essay made by* Don Ronquillo, *the* Spanish *Ambassador, to draw him into the* Austrian *Interest, with his Answer, and Refusal in favour of* France; *How Father* Petre *came to be made a Privy-Counsellor; Wherefore Mr.* Skelton *was imprisoned in the* Tower, *&c. Which, to name no more, though the rest are of equal Curiosity, as they had, in all likelihood, been for ever buried in the profoundest Oblivion, had not the Fate and Address of this Gentleman led him to fetch them out of the Dark, and almost inscrutable Recesses of the* French *Cabinet-minutes; so the* Reader *will find they carry so much Evidence of Truth with them, not only*

by

by the Connection they have with many material Paſſages in Sir William Temple's Memoirs, *Mr.* Coke's Detection of the Court and State of *England* during the four laſt Reigns, *&c. but by ſo natural an unfolding of what is obſcurely, or but tranſiently hinted at by thoſe learned Authors, who could not ſee beyond their Light; and yet ſo remote from thoſe Scurrilities, as well as Inconſiſtencies, to ſay no worſe, which occur in ſome other Pieces of the ſame Reigns, that it were a* Crime *to make any farther Apology for them. Yet it may be noted by the way, that this ſame doth evince the Neceſſity of a* Supplemental Part, *as well for the detecting of paſt Falſities, as for the perfecting of paſt Diſcoveries. And 'tis hoped no body will quarrel, that this* Piece, *which is entitled by the Name of* Secret Hiſtory, *&c. ſhould be written in an* Epiſtolary *way, when it is conſider'd that ſuch a* Form *was indiſpenſably neceſſary under the Circumſtances of the* Author, *and his* Noble Correſpondent, *and that there is a very engaging part naturally couched under ſuch a Method of bringing* State-Arcana's *to light, by way of* Letters, *which in the very Notion of them carry ſomething of Secrecy; though after all, the* Reader *cannot but obſerve an Air of Hiſtory to run in a manner through the whole Compoſition: but whether ariſing from the Mode of thoſe* Minutes *from whence our* Author *drew his* Intelligence, *or from his own natural* Genius, *or partly from both, is, I confeſs, a Queſtion I never asked him, neither do I think the Determination of it of any great Conſideration.*

As to the Nature and Manner how this Correſpondence was managed, the Inquirer may take notice, that the Conveyance was not ſo difficult; for the Poſt, during all the time theſe Letters were continued, was free between both Nations: though he is alſo to obſerve, that ſome of them, occaſionally for fear of Interception, were written in Cyphers, which I retain by me, as I do the reſt of the Original Papers, for my own and the World's Satisfaction. But for the Method purſued by him, during the preſent Reign, it will then be time enough to give ſuch Hints

thereof

thereof as in prudence ſhall be eſteemed ſafe and neceſſary.

But though the Station this learned Gentleman was in, did, together with his own Induſtry and Curioſity, entitle him to the vaſt Diſcoveries made in theſe Letters; yet the Ticklißneſs of his Circumſtances, and the Fears of being ſurprized, together with a natural Tendency that is in Mankind to take notice of preſent rather than paſt Occurrences, would not admit of a continued Succeſſion of writing Matters of Fact as they have fallen out in order of time: Which, as it is a moſt convincing Reaſon of ſo many inverted and promiſcuous Dates, ſo it has introduced the Methodizer, *Firſt, under a neceſſity of frequently altering the prefatory and concluſive Parts of the* Letters, *and then of making up ſome ſmall Breaches; which under the forementioned Circumſtances muſt neceſſarily happen, and which yet are grounded upon the moſt irrefragable Authorities; that there might be a Connection between the ſeveral Parts, and the Hiſtory appear entire, and all of a piece. And it could not be thought ungrateful to our* Reader *to have the Contents inſerted before every* Letter, *with the Obſervation of the Years, ſo far as was needful, when each Matter was tranſacted; whereof there neither was a Neceſſity for the* Author *to obſerve to that* Noble Lord, *to whom he was the* Intelligencer, *who is too great a Critick in Hiſtory to need it, unleſs it were upon ſome very ſpecial Occaſions: neither indeed would the promiſcuous way of Writing, which the ſtinted Opportunities he was under forced him to, admit well of it; eſpecially when theſe Papers, at the firſt taking of them, were not deſign'd to be made publick. Though his own Curioſity led him to keep* Copies *of whatever he writ that was material, than which nothing is more common with Perſons under the like* Circumſtances; *the many* Letters *and* Memoirs *that have from time to time appeared in the World, being a convincing Proof hereof: and without which Method it had been impoſſible to have tranſmitted to Poſterity the thouſandth part of what the World has been obliged with in things of that kind.*

It is true there are some Letters *to be met with now and then in the Course of this Correspondence, which, at first sight, may seem to be foreign, and have little or no relation to the main Subject; but besides that there are few or none without some sort of Connection, and do not in one degree or other interfere with the* British *Affairs, they are so much an Imbellishment to those Parts they fill up, as not to merit so severe a Censure, as to undergo the Fate of being castrated.*

And here is a spacious Field before me, were it advisable, or any ways necessary, to descant upon the Excellency and Usefulness of these Discoveries, which are wholly new: but I shall wave that, and only observe, That there is no one Party or Sect of Men in England, *the Court it self not exempted, but may draw very seasonable* Informations, *and no less timous* Instructions *herefrom; seeing they have all of them, in their respective turns, though many quite against their Knowledge, been imposed upon by* French Emissaries, *and made* Tools *to serve the Interest of* France, *to the prejudice of themselves, and of their own Country. And how far the same Emissaries, though under different Shapes, according to time and occasion, have prevailed to nourish and perpetuate those* Intestine Feuds *and* Cruel Animosities *which they formerly sowed amongst us, during the present Reign; will in part, among other surprizing* Secrets, *be the Subject-matter of the next Volume, which will be continued down to the present Year* 1696. *and which I could not forbear mentioning upon this occasion, though it comes in by way of* Anticipation.

Nov. 9. 1696. **D. Jones.**

THE Secret History OF *WHITE-HALL.*

PART I.

LETTER I.

Of the Author's being introduced to the Place of Interpreter of the English *Tongue*, &c.

My Lord,

I AM not ſo pleaſed with my Preferment of being made Interpreter for the *Engliſh* Affairs, to the principal Commis or Clerk of the Diſpatches, under the Marquiſs *De Louvois*, to which Employment I have been lately admitted; as I am with the Thoughts of the Opportunity I have to ſerve your

Lordſhip, with much better Intelligence than hitherto my Circumſtances would admit of. Moſt of my time, ſince my admiſſion into the ſaid Office, has been taken up in inſpecting into Mr. *Kil-Patrick*'s method, who was Predeceſſor to the Perſon to whom I am Interpreter; and I have under my Hands all his Papers and Minutes for near Twenty Years backward; whereby I do not queſtion, but I may in time give your Honour much light into the Intrigues of the Miniſters of State in this Kingdom, and the Maxims they have and do go upon, for the producing ſuch Accidents and Revolutions in their neighbouring Nations, and eſpecially in our Kingdoms, as may favour the aſpiring Endeavours of this Court towards an Univerſal Monarchy, and obviate all ſuch croſs Events as may fall out contrary to their Deſigns. I have ſeen ſome ſtrange things already, in relation to our Country, contrived and agitated by them; but my Buſineſs requires ſo much Attendance from me at preſent, and the minuting out of any thing but what belongs to the Service of the Office, requires ſo much Circumſpection and Privacy, that I durſt not hitherto venture upon any ſuch thing: but I hope a little time will put me into a freedom of Circumſtance, that may in ſome meaſure be anſwerable to my readineſs to ſerve you, and make appear how much I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Humble Servant.

Paris, Jan. 8.
1676. N. S.

LET-

LETTER II.

Of the Oppoſition made by the French *Miniſters of State to King* Charles II's *Reſtoration, with their Anſwers to the Queen-Mother's Reſentments thereupon.*

My Lord,

ACcording to the Expectation I may have raiſed in your Lordſhip by my laſt, of ſome notable Intelligence from me, I am to acquaint you with what perhaps you will hardly believe; that this Court, conſidering the near Alliance between the *Bourbonian* and *Engliſh* Royal Familys, ſhould as much as once think to obſtruct the King's Reſtauration to the Throne of his Anceſtors: but for my part, I clearly find there is neither Father, Brother, nor Couſin, between Kings and Kingdoms, and that *France* uſed the utmoſt of her Policy, at that time, to keep us embroiled at home, while ſhe might have her Hands looſe to play her Game abroad. But becauſe I conceive it may not be ungrateful to your Lordſhip, to underſtand what thoſe Stratagems were, which they own themſelves to have practiſed upon that occaſion, I ſhall briefly hint them unto you, as I find them entred here in their Cabinet-Minutes. Monſieur *Bourdeaux* was then their ordinary Embaſſador at *London*, whoſe Inſtructions were, both by himſelf and ſeveral other Emiſſaries whom they had there, to raiſe all the Jealouſies imaginable in the ſeveral Factions, of *Monk* and his Adherents, and at the ſame time to make Overtures to *Monk*, to aſſume *Oliver*'s Poſt and Power; urging with great vehemency, that he might with much more Juſtice and Security do it, as having (what the other had not) a Precedent before him. But tho that

General refuſed the Propoſal, and was proof againſt all their Attacks of that kind, ſaying, he would not ſplit his Family upon that Rock againſt which the *Cromwels* had daſh'd, but would wave all ambitious Projects of his own Grandure, that were indirect, and purſue only thoſe that conſiſted with his Country's Good; and that they ſaw at laſt it was in vain to attempt the Union of the ſtronger Factions at home, either againſt *Monk*, or the King's Reſtoration; they reſolved to try what might be done abroad to work them into a Temper: and therefore to raiſe Jealouſies in them from their Neighbours, they did in *March* 1660. defile ſeveral Battalions of Foot towards *Calais*, giving out at the ſame time, that their Deſign was to beſiege *Dunkirk* in conjunction with the *Spaniſh* Forces; and that after the Place was taken by them, it was to be delivered up to the *Spaniards*, purſuant to an agreement made between them, that the latter had conſented to give up *Cambray*, and ſome other Places to the *French* in lieu of it. At which Proceedings of theirs, the Queen-Mother then in *France* taking the Alarm, ſhe briskly remonſtrated unto them the unnatural part they acted, conſidering the near Ties of Blood in her Perſon between the Royal Families of *France* and *England*, and how diſhonourable it was to oppoſe the Reſtitution of a Prince, which they were bound to promote even by Arms, tho he had been no ways allied to them: but ſhe was anſwered, that there were many Reaſons of State which ſuperſeded all thoſe Scruples; that for her part, ſhe might be aſſured, ſhe ſhould be as well provided for as otherwiſe; that it was not ſafe for her Son to be brought in purely by his own Subjects; but that if they both would have a little patience, they did not queſtion but they had taken ſuch Methods ſo to embroil and weaken *England*, that there would be quickly room enough for the *French* King to bring him in, in a much more glorious manner, ſo as that he might be abſolute Maſter of his Subjects, and have his Royal Authority no more to depend upon the fickle and changeable Temper of a Perfidious Nation, nor be in danger to receive any check from

from Parliaments, that would ſooner or later prove factious and dangerous to his State: that it was viſible the *Spaniards* had a great hand in promoting ſuch a Revolution in *England*, and therefore they deſired her to conſider how diſhonourable it would be to the Houſe of *Bourbon* to ſuffer it; and how dangerous ſuch a Conjunction of *England* and *Spain* (which would naturally follow) againſt them would be, ſhe her ſelf might judge: and that therefore ſince a little patience would infallibly retrieve the whole Game to their Intereſt, and much more to her Satisfaction, they could do no leſs than purſue the Methods they had taken, and make both her and her Son happy, tho it were againſt their Wills; that ſhe was much in the wrong to judge of Things by preſent Appearances; that they were aſſured, however Matters might be concealed from her, the Conditions propoſed to the King her Son by his Subjects, were little to her Satisfaction, when they imported no leſs, than that her two younger Sons (of the Elder of whom ſhe had conceived greateſt Hopes) and her ſelf, muſt never ſet footing on *Engliſh* Ground, and that the King himſelf muſt marry a Proteſtant Heretick, and ſuffer no *Roman Catholick* to live in his Dominions. But when they found all their Politicks had failed them, and that the King was reſtored in ſpight of them, according to his Heart's Content, they afterwards fell upon other Stratagems, put in due time in execution, to work upon his eaſy Nature, and to render his Power more ſerviceable than hurtful to their Deſigns; tho the King, (who was yet ſenſible of the Injuries done him) upon his arrival in *England* ordered *Bourdeaux* to withdraw out of his Dominions. This is the ſubſtance of what I find entred here, in reference to this particular, and all I have now to communicate; which, if I find it reliſh with your Lordſhip, I ſhall not fail to lay hold of all Occaſions to demonſtrate how much I am,

Paris, Feb. 19. 1676. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt
Humble, &c.

LETTER III.

Of ſeveral Matches propoſed to K. Charles II. *by the* French *Court, with his Anſwers and Rejection of the ſame.*

My Lord,

IT's not unknown to your Lordſhip, that one Topick in the *French* Politicks has been now for many Years, to bring their Neighbour Princes into their Intereſts, by procuring them Wives; and the *French* Women have had an excellent Faculty to bring over their Husbands into the *Gallican Nooſe*, tho apparently to the hazard of themſelves, and their own State: ſo that quite failing in their end to obſtruct the King's Reſtoration, they now attempted to entrap him with a Wife. I underſtand there were ſeveral *French* Matches propoſed to him during his Exile, and among others a great Lady, whoſe Name I cannot now remember, who had like to have been afterward married to the Prince of *Conde*, and whom the King hotly courted when in *France*; but becauſe he was refuſed by her then, he in his turn refuſed her when reſtored: tho in reality ſuch a proffer on their part, was no more than to ſound his Diſpoſition towards marrying a *French* Woman in general; for if he had conſented to have taken this Lady to Wife, the *French* Court would not have ſuffered it, becauſe ſhe was a Martial Lady, and of the contrary Faction to them at *Paris*. A ſecond was their then Madamoiſel *d' Orleans*, the *French* King's Aunt, which Match agreed very well both with her and King *Charles*'s Inclination; and the King ſeemed forward to preſs it: but it was not ſo with the *French* Court, who by their Artifices put it by, as remembring likewiſe her Martial Temper, and what ſhe had done,

when

when with her own Hands she had fired off the Guns of the *Bastile* against the King's Party in the Wars of *Paris*, and how hotly she abetted the Party that stood up against the King's Legitimacy; for they looked upon her still with a jealous Eye, as thinking her yet full of Resentment, and that she would put our King in a Martial Mood, cause him to renew the old Pretensions to *France*, and to abet the Princes that might have been disposed to renew the dispute of the *French* King's Legitimacy, and to advance their own Title to that Crown; or at leastwise, that she would put King *Charles* upon thwarting in all things, whatever might promote the Grandeur of *Lewis* XIV. Nay, so great was their Fear of that Lady's Issue, by any Person whatsoever, that after they had treacherously shamm'd her into a clandestine Match with the Count *de Lauzun*, to hinder her matching with any great Person; they likewise took care she should have no Issue, even by him, by keeping of him in Prison, and never suffering them to come together again till they were both past Children. The third Person I find proposed, and that in earnest, was Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Niece *Hortensia*, a Match of which the *French* Court were very fond, and such as was every way agreeable to their *Gusto*. The Cardinal, besides many other Sophistical Addresses to bring the Business to bear, got the Hook baited with the Appearance of a great stock of Beauty, besides the Tender of a vast Sum of Money to boot. He took care also to have it rumoured abroad, that such a Match was not only in agitation, but in a fair way to be accomplished; all which 'twas believed might have done the Feat, but that it having been unluckily rumour'd abroad, that she had paid her first Fruits already to the *French* King, K. *C.* said, *he would not be content with her upon the second hand.* However it were, the Reasons transmitted to the *French* Court, why such an advantageous Offer was rejected by our King, were,

1. Becauſe her Uncle had ſo ungenerouſly oppoſed his Reſtoration, and uſed him ſo contemptuouſly at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*.

2. Becauſe that Alliance could be of no advantage to him, but by a little preſent Mony, and would beſides raiſe Jealouſies in his People againſt him; for which the Day was yet too early. So that ſeeing they found they could put no *French* Lady upon him, they reſolved to promote the Match with *Portugal*, whereby they were ſure the King would have no Iſſue: But that was not all, for by this means they were in hopes to render him deſtitute of any powerful Foreign Ally; and that the Duke of *York* being already married to Chancellor *Hyde*'s Daughter, and in proſpect of a fair Iſſue, both thoſe Matches might together lay a Foundation for new Diſcontents, weaken the Union between King and People, and put the younger Brother upon aſpiring Thoughts, in prejudice to the elder. But becauſe the foreſaid Match with *Portugal* might not be thought to be of their Contrivance, and for ſome Self-ends, they put this piece of drudgery upon the Queen-Mother, whom they managed ſo as to give her aſſured Hopes, her ſecond Son, who was her Darling, would by that means one day aſcend the *Engliſh* Throne; and what might not ſhe and all of them hope from him, who had ever been much more open in Profeſſion of, and zealous for the *Roman* Religion? *&c.* But great care was taken to give it out betimes, that this Journy of the Queen was only a Viſit to her Son, now a King *de facto*, and in all Royal State, and that ſhe deſigned quickly to return and ſpend the remainder of her Days in *France*, her Native Country; and at the ſame time how highly ſhe was offended at her other Son, the Duke of *York*'s Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter, which about that Conjuncture came to be publickly known, and by whom he had now a Child born. But whether ſhe had any Inſtructions upon this Journy to break the Ice, and make Overtures to her

her Son about the Sale of *Dunkirk*, I could never learn; and our Minutes are in a profound silence concerning it: however I shall in my next give you all the Intimations that ever came within the verge of my Knowledge upon this Head, and in the mean time, am,

My Lord,

Paris, Feb. 25. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant.

LETTER IV.

Of the Sale of Dunkirk *to the* French, *and by what Methods effected.*

My Lord,

THAT Cardinal *Richlieu* had long before laid a Foundation for the *French* Greatness, and even to nourish Thoughts of *France*'s attaining in time the Universal Monarchy, is notoriously known to all that are conversant in the Histories of his Time; and that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who succeeded him as Primier Minister of State, pursued his Steps, and made considerable Advances in the Design before he died, which was about the Time of the Negotiation for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, is no less manifest; and that the Method both the one and the other pursued, was to set their Engines on work continually to embroil their Neighbours, either in intestine Jars, or in an open Invasion of one another's Territories, and then to invite themselves in to assist the weaker, that they might run away with the Prey from both: but among all their Neighbour Nations, the *English* were those they most dreaded, both out of Fear and Emulation

of their Military Strength and Glory, and whom conſequently they made their utmoſt Efforts to entangle in Civil Diſcords: and therefore it was that *Richlieu* took Advantage of the unhappy Conjuncture in the firſt ſowing the Seeds of Diſcontent between King *Charles* I. and his Parliaments; and then by his Incendiaries kindled ſuch a flame in the Three Kingdoms, as terminated not only in the Deſtruction of the King, but even of the Monarchy it ſelf: ſo that the Nation after having undergone a Succeſſion of almoſt all the Forms of Government that have been in uſe among the Sons of Men, run at laſt into the very dregs of all Government, even Anarchy it ſelf; which *Mazarine* did as ſtrenuouſly endeavour to keep up amongſt us, as his Predeceſſor *Richlieu* had been forward to run us upon thoſe dangerous Precipices that introduced it. But when after all the *French* Efforts to prevent our return to our old and known Form again, by the King's Reſtoration, had failed; it ſtruck no ſmall damp upon the *French* Politicians, to ſee the *Babel* they had been ſo long erecting, and were now in a fair way to have laid on the Top-ſtone, in danger to be overthrown at one Clap, and to have all their Hopes daſhed to pieces: and therefore they ſtood ſtill for a time to ſee what ſo mighty a Revolution in *England* might produce, and what mighty things a King in the Vigour of his Years (whom they had ſufficiently provoked during his Exile) ſo high in the Love of his Subjects, the antient Emulators of the *French*, and the People now in the moſt Martial Poſture that ever they were in ſince *England* was a Nation, would undertake. But finding all were *Halcyon Days*, and that then there was no apparent Diſpoſition in our Court to make any Incroachment on their Neighbours; the *French* Miniſters began to re-aſſume freſh Hopes, and to conſider what Expedients might be proper to promote their Deſigns, which now for ſome time had lain dormant. One Project was that of the Match mentioned by me to your Lordſhip in my laſt; which ſucceeding ſo well, and finding ſtill that the King was far enough from deſigning any

War

War for the Enlargement of his Territories, they resolv'd to make an essay, and see whether he was willing to part with any thing that was already his own.

I suppose your Lordship may have heard of Cardinal *de Retz* being in disgrace at the *French* Court; of his being forced to flee the Kingdom; of his being at *London incognito* some time after the Restoration. What he was publickly accused for in *France*, was, that he had favoured the adverse Party about the Point of the Legitimacy; that he had invited Madamoisel *d' Orleans* to aspire to a Match with our King, and abetted the Pretensions of *Rome* against those of the Court, about the then growing Difficulties concerning the *Regale*: but whatever the Reasons were, they were never published, nor suffered to be so much as enter'd in the Minutes of other Secrets. But this is certain, that our King interceded with the *French* King on his behalf, and that he was admitted to return; and I have been assured, it was by the way of *Dunkirk*, and was sent afterward Embassador to *Rome*: but whether all this was a Juggle, to carry on a Negotiation about *Dunkirk*, I will not possibly affirm, but it looks as much like a *French* Trick, as one Egg does like another.

That the *Spaniards* pressed our King very early for the Restitution of *Dunkirk*, is uncontroulably true, and made pretty large Offers; and it is as true that the King rejected their Propolals, which yet did not discourage the *French* Emissaries, of whom they had by this time many in *England*, as the Minutes shew, who having ingratiated themselves with the Chancellor, and other hungry Courtiers, made also their Overtures; and told the King withal, that *Cromwel* was to have that Town only for a temporary Caution, for so much Mony due to him for his Assistance against the *Spaniards*, and that therefore it was a Matter of Right they insisted upon, seeing they were now ready to lay down the Sum, with more than Interest: nay, and they were so bold as to tell him farther, that if he refused to give it for Mony, they would endeavour to recover the same by a War, and questioned not the Junction of the *Hollanders* with them, both by Sea and Land, in that

case;

caſe; they being as unwilling as the *French*, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have footing ſo near them on the Continent: and in effect they made uſe of the *Dutch* Faction, and ſome *Jews*, their Emiſſaries in *England*, more than any body elſe, to bring that Affair about. And becauſe they would be ſure to meet with no Obſtructions from the *Spaniards*, by renewing their Inſtances to the King, and alledging a greater Right to the Town than the *French*, they amuſed them with a Deſign they had to reſtore it to them again, upon a reaſonable Equivalent in *Flanders*, and gave it out that they had enter'd into a Treaty already with them upon that Head; but whether it was ſo in reality I cannot tell. And this is all that I am able to inform your Lordſhip concerning our parting with that important Place; only that the Sum paid for it, was two Millions and five hundred thouſand Livers: and ſo I remain,

My Lord,

Paris, March 4. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Humble Servant.

LETTER V.

Overtures made to King Charles II. *for the Sale of* Tangier *to the* French, *and how prevented.*

My Lord,

THE *French* having (as I have given your Lordſhip an Account in my laſt) gained their Point in the buying of *Dunkirk*, whereof the *French* Forces took poſſeſſion about *October* in the Year 1662. they pauſed a little to ſee how the *Engliſh* would reſent it, before they would

would make any further Paces for the Promotion of their Cauſe to our diſadvantage: but finding the memory of the Anarchical Times, together with the Nation's, according to the Example of the Court, daily degenerating from the Severity of Manners in former times, had in a manner laid them faſt aſleep, and quite obliterated all Thoughts of Military Glory, ſo far as if there had been a ſudden Tranſmutation of the *Genius* of the People; they reſolved to make another Eſſay upon the eaſy Temper of the King, and try whether he would alſo part with *Tangier* unto them. But whether it were that the King was ſenſible already of his Miſtake in parting with *Dunkirk*, or that this very Motion of theirs put him upon conſidering what he had done, and the great Error he had committed in Policy thereby, it is certain he gave them an abſolute Denial; and that the Minutes ſpeak, but ſay withal, that to be revenged of his Denial, and make him odious after their uſual manner, this Court order'd it however to be reported, as if he had been willing for it: and further add, that the King's real Anſwer was, That *Tangier* being his Queen's Dowry, to whom he had not long been married, it would not at all ſuit with his Honour to ſell it, neither could he well part with it, unleſs he parted with her; that it was by Parliament annexed to the Imperial Crown of *England*, and ſo could not be ſold without them; that if both he and his Parliament too might be willing to ſell it at another time, yet to be ſure, it was not proper to think of it juſt then, when after ſo much Treaſure and Blood ſpent upon it already, it might, if ever, prove of ſome uſe to the Nation, in the War then like to begin with the *Dutch*; that he could not part with it to the *French* King ſo well as to any other Chriſtian Prince, nay not ſo well as even to the *Moors* themſelves, without giving a very juſt, and therefore a dangerous Cauſe of Jealouſy to his People, eſpecially in that Juncture, when by the Carriage of the *French* he had great cauſe to ſuſpect, they were jealous of his Grandeur at Sea, and would join with the *Dutch* againſt him. Which Refuſal of his, I muſt tell

your

your Lordſhip, was indeed one of the ſecret Cauſes, among others, why they ſoon after actually joined with that Nation, to diminiſh our Power, to ſham them, and weaken and undermine us both, as well as to hatch up a Navy of their own. And ſince I am entered upon this Subject, your Lordſhip will pardon me, if I proceed a little further, and acquaint you, that they did afterwards renew their Inſtances about the Sale of the ſaid Place, with much more Earneſtneſs than before, and that at a time when their Intereſt was much ſtronger, and more prevalent at our Court: and yet even then, tho the Parliament had deny'd him the Supplies which he demanded extraordinary, as your Lordſhip well knows, to be appropriated for the Maintenance of *Tangier*, and that he was in great ſtraits for Mony, he would not ſell it to the *French*, nor reſtore it to *Portugal*; but choſe rather to demoliſh it, and abandon it to the *Moors*. Why he would not ſell it to the *French*, I have already given the Reaſons; but there was, perhaps, another more prevalent Argument for it, *viz.* the ſtrong Vote of the Houſe of Commons to that purpoſe, which your Lordſhip knows better than I can pretend to inform you: to which perhaps I may ſubjoin another in due place; and therefore now can only ſubſcribe my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Paris, Octob. 24. 1684. N. S.

Humble Servant.

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LETTER VI.

Of the First Dutch *War, begun in* 1665.

My Lord,

I Have no reaſon to doubt, but your Lordſhip knows moſt of the Particulars relating to that unhappy War begun between *England* and *Holland* in the Year 1665. but 'tis like it will not be unpleaſing to recount what the *French* Deſigns might be in it, how they promoted it, and what Advantages they drew from it; which I ſhall do very briefly. When they found our King did not lay hold of thoſe Advantages put into his hands upon his Reſtoration, to render himſelf great at home and formidable abroad, and made not the leaſt Mein of a martial, deſigning and ambitious Humour; they made it their firſt Buſineſs by their Inſtruments at our Court, to hinder his cloſing with *Spain*, or any other in the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by making up the *Portugal* Match, as I have already hinted to your Lordſhip: next by gaining the Duke of *York* timely over to their Devotion; and then by other Emiſſaries and Penſioners, whereof they had good ſtore, both in *England* and *Holland*, to ſtir up ſuch Diſputes between the two Nations as might end in a War, and ſo divert the firſt Eſſays of the Power of our new Monarch from themſelves. In this, how admirably they ſucceeded, is well known; the *Dutch* on the one ſide being ſecretly incited and encouraged to Inſolencies and Encroachments, and the *Engliſh* to as deep Reſentments; inſomuch that a War was hotly urged againſt them by our Parliament it ſelf; the *French* Court in the mean time playing Bopeep with them both: for it does manifeſtly appear by the Hints that I have ſeen, that they promiſed Succour to both Parties in caſe of a Rupture,

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tho it were really resolved to see us fight first, and then succour the weakest, and so kill two Birds with one Stone; that is, divert and weaken both our Naval Forces, and make use of one of us to increase their own Naval Strength, till which the War was very inconsiderable. Which they most effectually did; for they no sooner saw the Ballance incline to our Side by the first great Defeat given the *Hollanders* in that War, but contrary to all the Assurances before given to the King, they not only sided with the Enemy, but drew the *Dane* too into their Confederacy, though they never did either of them any good by fighting for them at Sea; but only by bribing one at that time in the highest Favour in our Court, I need not name him, got a part of our Fleet sent on a blind Errand after theirs, where 'twas sure not to be found, while the *Dutch* and the rest of our Ships and Commanders were left to batter one another to pieces, to make them sport. Having gained their Ends in this point, they proceeded and gained also another of yet more dangerous consequence; and that was to get the unthinking *Hogens* to build them most of the best Ships they now possess, and with which they have since scourg'd the *Dutch* both before *Palermo* and other parts, and with which they have pretended since to match either them or us. This appears, my Lord, by the Minutes of the Lists we have of their Navy, whereof some Copies were printed, but at present I cannot help your Lordship to one; but therein were expresst the Dates and Places of the building of every Ship, whereof of near 160 Men of War of all sorts, near 100 of them were built in the Ports of *Holland*, in the time of the said War; during which time also they bought such quantities of Gun-powder, Salt-Petre, and all sorts of warlike Materials there, as so strengthned them, and exhausted the other, who ne'er dreamt they intended in a little time to carry the War to them, that it much facilitated the Success they had afterward in invading that Country. That War ended with all the Success to their Designs they could desire, both by the treacherous Compliance of corrupt Ministers,

they

they had gained in both Nations; and the Discouragement the *English* had received, by the perfidious falling off of the Bishop of *Munster* from us; the Junction of the *Dane* against us; and the *Chatham* Disaster, in having our Ships burnt there, which they effected by procuring the Queen Mother to write a Letter to her Son, that she was assured the *Dutch* would have no Fleet out that Summer. I need not remonstrate to your Lordship our ill Conduct herein, I am sure our Enemies have both blamed and ridiculed us sufficiently for it, tho it tended so manifestly to their advantage, and was a Pig of their own Sow: And let me tell your Lordship, they did never believe our King would so easily take the Bait till they saw the Blow struck; and this, I can assure your Lordship, so heightned their Hopes, and whetted them in the pursuit of their Ends upon our Court and Kingdom, that they almost never left any Motion, they had made for their turn, till it were effected as much to their full Satisfaction, as to the King's Dishonour and the Nation's Ruin; and from hence forward you shall find them drive on their Designs upou us, *Jehu*-like: the Particulars whereof I shall not fail to transmit to your Lordship, as often as I can have access to take them out without Suspicion from the Minutes, where they are deposited; and shall therefore now only subscribe my self, as I am in all sincere Devotion,

My Lord,

Paris, March 29. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordship's most Humble Servant.

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LETTER VII.

Of the Firing of the City of London *in* 1666.

My Lord,

I Am fully ſatisfy'd by what I have both ſeen and heard at *Paris* and elſewhere, that the Duke of *York* was in the Year 1666. brought quite over to the *French* Intereſt: and I have heard ſtrange Stories related concerning his Conduct at the time of that dreadful Conflagration of the City, looking upon it *Janus*-like, with one Face ſeeming concerned for the lamentable Diſaſter, and with the other rejoicing to ſee that noble Pile reduced to Aſhes, and its Citizens ruined, who had at all times been the greateſt Propugnators for Liberty and Property, and Oppoſers of that Religion which he now not only ſecretly profeſt, but was even ready publickly to own; and rewarding thoſe Incendiaries at *St. James's*, who then were ſuſpected generally to be *French* Men, as your Lordſhip well may remember: but by our Minutes it does appear they were not ſuch, but Perſons, at leaſt many of them, ſet on work by *French* Counſels, and ſuch as then were of all men leaſt ſuſpected; I mean *Jews*, of which they had then ſeveral in pay, not only in *England*, but all over Chriſtendom; not only to give them Intelligence, in which they are wondrous active, but likewiſe to promote and act the worſt of Miſchiefs, at which they make no balk. By theſe, Fires have been kindled, not only in *England*, but in *Germany*, *Poland*, and elſewhere, which the *Germans* imputed to *Turkiſh* Emiſſaries, tho they were *Jews* hired with *French* Mony; the *Turkiſh* Policy not being ſo refined in Miſchief. Theſe ſorts of *Jews* put on the ſhape of what Chriſtians they pleaſed; and of this ſort imploy'd by *France*, there were and are ſtill ſeveral in *England*,

England, the Names of one or two of whom I think I ſhall be able to give your Lordſhip in ſome time, tho they go by ſeveral, as time and occaſion doth require: and ſo at preſent I remain,

My Lord,

Paris April 7. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER VIII.

Of the French *Irruption into* Flanders *in the Year* 1667.

My Lord,

THE *Dutch* War, I have in a former Letter men-tion'd to your Lordſhip, being ended by the Treaty at *Breda*, *July* the 9th 1667. the *French* gained all the Ends they propoſed by it; and more particularly (as to what I have before hinted) that both our King and People were now glad to be quiet, that ſome Diſ-reputation was thereby caſt on our Nation, but more on the King and Government; which began to breed new Diſcontents and Factions amongſt us, which they took care to foment, that they might make uſe of them after-ward; and that they having lately obliged the *Dutch*, thought now they might venture to extend their Limits in *Flanders*, and try what Fortune their Monarch would have againſt *Spain*, being his firſt Undertaking ſince he took upon him the Management of Affairs after *Maza-rine*'s Death. Wherefore new Pretenſions were advanced for the Queen of *France*; which tho moſt learnedly, and more than ſufficiently anſwered by that renowned Stateſ-

Stateſman, the Baron *de Iſola*, in his Treatiſe called, *The Buckler of State and Juſtice*, and which I think I have ſeen in your Lordſhip's Cloſet; yet it put no ſtop to the *French* Career, but on they carried the War, and that with ſuch rapid Succeſs, that they not only ravaged *Artois*, *Hainault* and other parts of the *Netherlands* in a ſhort time, but alſo took *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Aeth*, *Courtray* and *Liſle*; beſides what was done by them in *Franche County* and *Burgundy*. But your Lordſhip is ſo well verſed in things of this kind, that I ſhall forbear further to trouble you, and ſhall only tell you, that after the *Spaniard* had ſuffered great loſs, and that the *Dutch* being both obliged by Treaty, and alarmed at the too near Encroachment of ſo potent a Neighbour, aſſiſted the *Spaniard* with ſome Forces, which the Monſieur well obſerved, but for the time diſſembled it, though he reſolved both to remember and make uſe of it, when opportunity was put into his hands, one way or another to his Advantage: the Intervention of the Triple League did for the preſent put a Hook in his Noſe, and ſo he claps up a Peace with the *Spaniard*, in 1668. with a Deſign to break it as ſoon as ever his Hands were let looſe. And ſo I ſhall conclude this Letter with my humble thanks to your Lordſhip for my laſt re——: And hope I ſhall in my next be able to impart ſomewhat that will be more entertaining; till when I ſhall and ever will be ready,

My Lord,

Paris, April 11. 1676. N. S.

To Serve and Honour You.

LET-

LETTER IX.

The Dutch *alarm'd at the* French *King's Irruption into* Flanders, *ſent a Letter to K.* Charles II. *about it, a Copy of which Letter was tranſmited to the* French *Court.*

My Lord,

IF the *Dutch* underhand aſſiſting the *Spaniard*, as I have mentioned in my laſt, ſet the *French* King upon Thoughts of Revenge, a peruſal of the Contents of the States Letter to our King upon the account of his Encroachments, whetted his Fury to a high degree; but all was ſmothered for the preſent, there being many rubs that lay in his way that muſt firſt be removed. What the Contents of the ſaid Letter was, may be eaſily gueſſed at, but the ſight of any true Copy of it I could ne'er get: the general rumour concerning it was, that our King ſhould ſend it as ſoon as he had read it to the *French* King; but the Minutes ſay, it was only a Copy of it, that was tranſmited into *France*, and that not by the King, but that it was ſurreptitiouſly gotten from the Secretary's Office, and ſent to that Court; but that however they ordered their private Agents both in *Holland* and *England*, to report that our King ſent it, that they might provoke the *Hollanders* to uſe ſuch Carriage towards him, as might diſpoſe him to join with the *French* in a new War againſt them: which they had a Deſign to put him upon, in Revenge of that Letter, and of the Succours the *Dutch* had ſent the *Spaniards*, tho no more than they were obliged to do defenſively, purſuant to the Tenor of their Peace with *Spain*; of which War, with the Preliminaries tending to it, I ſhall not fail to tranſ-

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mit your Lordſhip an account —and ſuch in many Particulars, as I do not queſtion, but will be very grateful to your Lordſhip,

Paris, April 18. 1676. N. S.

Whoſe Humble Servant

I am.

LETTER X.

A View of the State of the Reformed in France, *from the beginning of* Lewis XIVth's *Reign, to the Year* 1669.

My Lord,

THE Reformed in the Kingdom of *France*, ſince the King came himſelf to the Adminiſtration of the Government, had rather been retrench'd in their Liberties, and declined in Power, than otherwiſe; whereas while *Mazarine* was Miniſter of State, (notwithſtanding the Queen-Mother's virulency againſt them, whether it were to cajole *Cromwel* and the then governing Powers in *England*, or out of his Averſion to the Clergy in general, of whoſe Abilities as well as Honeſty he had no great Opinion) things went tolerably well with them. But now that the *French* King found himſelf couped up with the *Triple League*, and conſidering that any rigorous Procedures againſt the Proteſtants in his own Dominions, would at this time be interpreted much to his diſadvantage by thoſe of other Nations, and particularly that there was no hopes to break the ſaid League, or to diſunite it, eſpecially the King of *England*, of whom he conceived the greateſt Hopes, and had the greateſt Eye upon, as being not only neareſt, but alſo moſt powerful of any of the reſt: it was reſolved to put forth an ample

Declara-

Declaration in favour of the *Reformed*, which revoked ſeveral unjuſt Judgments given againſt them, and remedied many important Difficulties and Severities they laboured under, whereof they had made their Complaints to the King; and which gave them hopes that they ſhould for the future be left to live in Tranquillity and Peace. They knew well enough, unleſs this were done, there was no very great likelihood to bring our King to their Bow, of whom the Parliament had already entertained ſome Jealouſies, and who would not fail to be enraged, when they came to underſtand he had entred into an Alliance with a King, who gave way to the Oppreſſion of his Proteſtant Subjects. But this ſpecious Pretence of the *French* Indulgence, might ſerve him very well to amuſe his Parliament, and at the ſame time to deceive himſelf: and the Proteſtant Nations in general without, might very well believe the *French* Proceedings herein, and eſpecially that part of it which related to the Reformed's future Tranquillity, were real; when they themſelves in *France* were fully perſuaded of it, and imagin'd that the Days of *Henry* IV. were returned upon them again. It's certain there had been conſiderable Efforts made, ſince our King's entring into the aforementioned Triple Alliance, to have it further ſtrengthned by the Acceſſion of other Proteſtant Confederates into it; and that there was a certain Perſon whoſe Name was *Marcilli*, a *Rocheller* born, and a Profeſſor of the Reformed Religion, that took indefatigable pains in it. The true Story of this Man is very odd, and falling pat with the Deſign of this Letter, I ſhall give as conciſe an Account of it as I can, not doubting of your Lordſhip's kind Acceptance. This Perſon, I ſay, taking the advantage of the Conjuncture of the League between *England* and *Holland*, and very much doubting of the Sincerity of the Declaration made in favour of the Reformed in *France*, thereupon made his Application to ſeveral Proteſtant Princes for entring into the ſaid Alliance, and was no ſmall Inſtrument to induce the King of *Swedeland* to come into it; which gave occaſion of its being called the

Triple

Triple League. He had been alſo at our Court, and opened the King's Eyes, in relation to many things that had been miſrepreſented to him, and wherein he had been impoſed upon, either by *French* Agents, or the falſity of his own Miniſters of State. But theſe Addreſſes of *Marcilli* were not long concealed from the *French Court*, wherefore they took counſel, and diſpatch'd away the Marquiſs *de Ruvigni* into *England*, with Inſtructions to take off thoſe Umbrages our King had taken, upon the Conduct of the *French* Council towards him. The Marquiſs's Religion, he being a Proteſtant, as well as his Capacity, recommended him as the fitteſt Perſon to aſſure the King of the Sincerity of the *French* Proceedings, and that the Reformed ſhould have all the Juſtice in the World done them: in ſhort, the Marquiſs did his Buſineſs ſo effectually at our Court, that tho he were the Reformed's Deputy-General, he had almoſt bankrupt his Credit with all the Churches, who did not a little reſent his Complaiſance upon that Head. *Marcilli* having done, as he thought, his Buſineſs in *England*, was gone upon the ſame Negotiation to the *Swiſs* Cantons, not without Directions, as 'twas believed in *France*, tho diſſembled for a time, from our King, to induce the *Swiſs* to come into the Alliance; whereof when *Ruvigni* had advertiſed the *French* Court, the King gave Mareſchal *Turenne*, who yet made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, Orders to ſeize him, if poſſible, and kidnap him back into *France*. The Mareſchal, to diſguiſe the matter as much as might be, and to give as little Umbrage of any ſuch Deſign as was poſſible, pitcht upon three Officers making Profeſſion of the ſame Religion with himſelf, to go into *Switzerland* to ſeize him. The Sameneſs of Religion between *Marcilli* and them, gave them eaſy familiarity with him; ſo that at laſt having got him into a place where he could not be reſcued, they hurried him into *France*, where he was tried forthwith and condemn'd. The Man, during his Impriſonment, ſhewed all the Conſtancy both of a brave and innocent Mind; and all the Application of

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the Judges, and Rigour of the Questions put unto him, could never make him change his Language, but he maintained his Innocence to the last, and the Secrets he had been entrusted with by a great Prince; whom I have heard some of his very Enemies blame for not interposing in his behalf, or afterward resenting of it at all, when there were some things put to him in relation to that Prince's Person, that little suited with his Honour, even upon the publick place of Execution, just as the poor Man was broken upon the Wheel. And now, my Lord, they had murdered his Body, they went about also to murder his Fame, by giving out they were forced to expedite his Execution, because that having found a piece of Glass in the Prison, he cut off his Privy Parts therewith, as thinking he might quickly bleed to death, and so be his own Executioner; which notwithstanding being soon observed by the Goaler, he gave the Officers notice thereof, who put him to death two Hours after. And that *France* might seem to be sincere at all Points in respect to the Liberty of her Reformed Subjects, out came another Declaration in *August* 1669. inviting all of them that sojourned abroad, or were in the Service of Foreigners, back into their Native Country, and particularly out of the *United Provinces*, where there were of them great Numbers, as Officers, Soldiers, Merchants, Seamen, *&c.* But tho they were thus liberal in their Promises to the Reformed, and made all the semblance of Sincerity in the World hereupon, yet they never ceased underhand to tempt the most considerable Persons amongst them, by large Donatives and Hopes of Preferment, to come over to the Church of *Rome*; and what Success they had therein will be the subject of another Letter: and so I am,

Paris, May 23. 1676. N. S.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant.

LETTER XI.

Of the Perverſion of the Prince of Tarent, *Mareſchal* Turenne, *&c. to the Romiſh Religion, about the Year* 1669.

My Lord,

FRANCE, as I have informed your Lordſhip in my laſt, having invited her Subjects of the Reformed Religion home out of all quarters, the Prince of *Tarent*, who had been ſettled ſeveral Years in the *United Provinces*, and poſſeſt of great Employments, quitted their Service thereupon, and returned to his Native Country; where he had not been long arrived, but he was charmed into the Popiſh Religion, and all his Children (ſaving one Daughter, afterward married to the Prince of *Oldenburg*) follow'd his Example. This they looked upon as a good ſtep; but what gave them a mighty acceſſion of Strength, as much as it was a diminution of the Power of the Reformed, was their gaining of Mareſchal *Turenne* to their Church, who, becauſe ſo conſiderable a Perſon, and ſo famed for a great Captain, I ſhall recount unto your Lordſhip all that ever I could learn in relation to him upon this account. It's true, the Mareſchal never did appear to be a Perſon very zealous for his Religion; but as he had from time to time given ſome Proofs of his Conſtancy, it was attributed to the Coldneſs of his Temper, which made him calm enough in all things: but that Conſtancy that appear'd in him for a time, was attributed afterwards to other Cauſes, and primarily to the aſcendency his Wife and Siſters had over him; his Lady, who was Daughter to the Duke *de la Force*, and a Perſon of exemplary Piety, keeping of him ſteddy in his Profeſſion whilſt ſhe lived; and his eldeſt Siſter the Marchioneſs *de*

Duras,

Duras, always encouraging of him to be conſtant, and ſo zealous ſhe was, that ſhe began to breed up one of her younger Sons, with a deſign to make him a Miniſter: but that deſign not ſucceeding, and that Perſon going over very young into *England*, has been ſince, as your Lordſhip well knows, advanced to Honour in the Kingdom. The youngeſt Siſter, the Dutcheſs of *Tremouill*, never failed alſo of her Duty towards the Mareſchal in that kind. That the Mareſchal had been often tempted to change his Religion, is manifeſt; Cardinal *Mazarine* who had a great Opinion of him, made him many ſugar'd Promiſes if he would come over; when the *Dauphin* was born, he had Intimations given him, that he might one day be made his Governour, but that did not move him neither. The laſt Effort that was made upon him, was by the King himſelf at the beginning of the Campaign in *Flanders*, in the Year 1667. when he promiſed him a ſhare in all his Secrets, and higher degrees of Command, if ſo be he would embrace the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; but this had the ſame ſucceſs upon him with the reſt, and the Mareſchal acted his part with ſo much ſtedfaſtneſs, and in ſo noble a manner, that the King took no diſpleaſure thereat: and for this the Church at *Charenton* returned publick Thanks to God, who had inſpired him with ſuch laudable Conſtancy, but without naming of him. But ſome time after that Peace was concluded, when there was no more talk of him upon that ſcore, he entred into the *Roman* Communion, and it was given out he did it voluntarily, and of his own accord; and I could ne'er learn by whoſe Inſtigation it was done, or what were the true Reaſons that brought him to it: but however it was, this Change of his was attended with important Conſequences, which did appear in due time. And this is all I could remark or learn concerning this illuſtrious Perſon, only that he abjured his Hereſy (as they call it) in *Notre-Dame*, in preſence of the ABp of *Paris*; and ſo concludes, *My Lord*,

Paris, *May* 31. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER XII.

Of a Book publiſhed in France, *propoſing Methods to ruin the Reformed; which had like to have ſpoiled the Court-Politicks, in pretending Favour unto them at that time.*

My Lord,

I HAVE, in a former Letter, ſhewed your Lordſhip the great Care the *French* Court took, to have it believed, both at home and abroad, that their Declaration in favour of the Reformed was real, and like to be permanent, and what Politick Ends they had therein; but a Book entituled, *The Policy of* France, came out not long after, to wit, in the Year 1669. that had like to have ſpoiled all the fine Web they had ſpun: it was ſuppoſed to be written by the Marquiſs *de Chattelet*, a Gentleman of *Bretaign*, and contained one entire Chapter of Methods to ruin the Reformed; and he was ſo adventurous, as to dedicate it to the King himſelf, and made him a Preſent of one of them: but his Zeal was but coarſly rewarded, for he was ſent to the *Baſtile* for his pains, and the Book ſuppreſs'd. But becauſe the Methods he propoſed therein were ſuch as were very odd, and may be put in execution in time, and that I cannot ſend your Lordſhip one of the Books, I have taken out the Heads, which are as follow: He propoſed the total Deſtruction of them as a neceſſary Work, and reſerved it for the preſent King; and whether he did really know, or was ignorant of the Court-Deſigns, he did certainly I believe, fit his Politicks to the Intentions of the Court. He repreſented them full of Reſentment for the Loſs

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of their Places of Security, and of being always animated with Minds to Revolting, Confusion and Anarchy, and constantly ready to make use of any opportunity to re-establish themselves: He made them to be Enemies to the King's Prosperity, perpetual Obstacles to his Designs, and always to be feared because of their Animosity, and of the number of good Soldiers, over whom they could make Chiefs, by giving them Authority to command them. He took upon him to shew, that the Protestants of *Germany* suffered themselves to be ruined without any Opposition, and that they had too much need of the King's Protection, to embroil themselves with him: He said the same thing of *England*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, the *United Provinces*, and of all the Protestants, whom he imagined to have been so linked to the King by strong Chains of Interest, that they would not concern themselves to hinder his Exterminating of the Reformed Religion in his own Kingdom: He put a malicious Interpretation upon the Reformed's taking up Arms in the last Civil Wars; and he pretended to divine, that had it not been that the War had been so soon happily terminated, they would have formed grand Designs, made high Demands, and endeavoured to set up their Party again. He said, the Edict of *Nants* was revocable, as having been a thing extorted from the then King; and admitting it might have been formerly granted for the benefit of the State, yet it might now be revoked for the very same Reason: He was far from being of their Opinion, who thought that the Reformed were useful to the Church of *Rome* her self, because they obliged the Ecclesiasticks to study, and lead regular Lives; he said, that was a trifling Argument, and concluded, that the King had sufficient Grounds to seek out ways to put them out of Condition to hurt, or do any injury to his State. Having premised this, he was not of the Judgment to be rid of them by way of Banishment, as the *Moors* had been driven out of *Spain*; he looked upon that way of Treatment inhuman, and withal prejudicial to the State; but he proposed fifteen Expedients to be

rid of them by little and little. The first of which was, to procure a more familiar Intercourse between the Reformed and Catholicks. Secondly, That they should be rewarded with Estates and Honours that would be converted, and to have a Fund settled for that end, which should ne'er be alienated; that for the exciting of their Ambition, and not to suppress that Passion in them which might serve as a Sting to their Conversion, he was of Opinion they should be permitted to exercise the smaller Offices, yet not to give them great Places, but the Catholicks only; and so to allure the Reformed to a Change of their Religion, in hopes to attain unto them. Thirdly, To embroil the Affairs of particular Persons, so as to make them attend the Council, and principally the Gentlemen, concerning all the Dependances of the Exercises of their Families. Fourthly, To oblige them to rebuild the Chappels they had demolished or profaned, and that not by proceeding against them in general upon that head, but by suing of particular Persons upon that score, and to recommend it to the Care of each Bishop in his Dioceſs. Fifthly, To hinder the Deputy-General to interpose therein, which he believed might be easily effected, because the *Hugonots* could not form a Body in *France*, and that particular Cases ought not to pass for publick ones, and that the King would administer Justice without any Intervention; he would not have the Office of Deputy-General suppress'd, but reduce it only to a Name without any effect, and that no regard should be had to the General Remonstrances of the Deputy. Sixthly, To order it so that none of the Reformed should be suffered to dwell in Cities, or the Seignories which did appertain to such as were of their Religion; and he would have it so as they could never want specious pretences to colour that Innovation. Seventhly, To suppress by Death the Charges of Counsellors among the Reformed. Eighthly, To send Catholick Commissaries into the Synods, and to chuse such Persons for that end as understood Controversy, and knew how to foment any Differences which might arise in the Assemblies;

blies; to allow no National Synods; and to require Mony of the Ministers for the King's Use, under pretence of Loan, Tythes, or some other Imposition. Ninthly, To commence some Law-Suits against them for their Debts in common, and to cause some of their Churches to be sold. Tenthly, To enjoin all the King's Subjects not to depart the Kingdom without leave, for the Reformed would be comprehended under such a general Order. Eleventhly, To prevent any Catholicks, by means of the Confessors, to put themselves into the Service of the *Hugonots*. Twelfthly, To oblige them to observe the fasting Days, under pretence of State-Policy, for the same reason as they were obliged to keep Holidays. Thirteenthly, To endeavour to marry the Reformed into Roman Catholick Families, and to take care that all the Children proceeding from such Marriages, were brought up in the Roman Religion. Fourteenthly, To hinder the Reformed to sell their Estates in Land, for that such sort of Estates being not to be carried away, it would oblige them to keep within the Kingdom. And Lastly, he advised, That the University of *Saumur* should be removed to some other more inconvenient place, for which he furnished them with several pretences: and he was of opinion, that for lessening the number of Ministers, the Candidates before they were received, should be obliged to go through a Course of Philosophy, or study Divinity for two Years; that they should be examined before no other Commissioners than such as the King should name, and that none should be suffered to take the Function upon them till they were twenty seven Years of Age. I have troubled your Lordship with a long Letter upon this ungrateful Subject, but I hope you'l pardon me, since I think it's not altogether foreign to what I have some time since writ to your Lordship, about the *French* Court's Procedure in reference to the Reformed, whom they made it their chief Business to cajole into a profound Security, that they might have leisure to carry on their villanous Designs more securely; and therefore it was that this Book, and

the Author of it, run the Fate I have already recounted to your Lordſhip; whom I ſhall always endeavour to oblige to the utmoſt of my power: who am,

My Lord,

Paris, July 8. 1676. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER XIII.

Of the French *Preparations for the War, in the Year* 1672. *and how they compleated their Levies.*

My Lord,

HAving in ſome meaſure traced the Methods the *French* Councils uſed to ſettle their Affairs at home, ſo as to receive no Moleſtation from inteſtine Motions when they ſhould carry their Arms abroad; they began nowto ſet their Inſtruments more cloſely to work in their neighbouring Nations; but more eſpecially in *England* and *Holland:* not only to amuſe and play upon thoſe that were at the Helm of Government, but to feel the Pulſe of, and tamper with all the ſeveral Factions among the People, and to make Creatures among them, that might manage them upon occaſion, as might ſeem moſt for their purpoſe. While in the mean time they made vaſt Preparations underhand for War, both by Sea and Land; and the better to ſupply the Defects which ſeem'd to be natural to their native Soldiers, cauſed Levies to be made for them, little or great, in all the *European* Nations: inſomuch as by a Liſt which I have ſeen, it did appear they had in all, of Strangers only, about an hundred

hundred and ſixty thouſand Men, beſides Seamen, of whom they had likewiſe debauched a conſiderable number from *Holland*, *England*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*. Theſe mighty Preparations, without any viſible Pretence, alarmed all the Powers of Chriſtendom; but the more, becauſe the ſmall Conteſts then in being with the Pope about the Regale, and ſome Differences then depending about *Loraine* and *Alſatia*, as your Lordſhip well knows, made Men imagine the Storm would break towards *Italy* and part of *Germany*; till the Preparations of the then Biſhop of *Munſter*, and the admiſſion of *French* Gariſons into the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, and the naval Preparations which appear'd laſt of all, filled them with Apprehenſions ſomewhat different from the firſt: Among which neither *England* nor *Holland* were without ſome Fears, both which they took care to allay, as the Minutes ſhew, by exaſperating of them afreſh by ſecret Agents and Emiſſaries, one againſt another; reſolving, according as their Inſtruments ſhould prevail on either, to join with one againſt the other. But which of the two they ſhould attack, was a long time the Debate of the *French* Council; for one of them, it was reſolved without Contradiction, muſt be invaded: it being impoſſible to make any ſucceſsful Attempt upon the Empire, as long as thoſe two Countries maintain'd the Figure and Power they did then, and in that untoward Situation for them too. *England* was then in a very unprepared Condition, having almoſt no Navy at Sea, and none but the ordinary Forces at Land; whereas theirs were all ready and well diſciplined and commanded. And this Unpreparedneſs of ours was a great Incitement to moſt of the *French* Council, to put their King upon the immediate Invaſion of *England* with his whole Force, having already forefelt the *Hollanders*, and found them, if not inclinable to join with them in ſuch a War, yet content to ſit ſtill and be quiet. They moved it ſo hotly that they had like to have carry'd it, which if they had, *England* muſt have run a very great riſque at that time of being ruined; For, ſaid they, if we make ſure of

England firſt, we ſhut a Back-door faſt againſt all Danger, and may then ſecurely attack the *Auſtrian* Potentates; having firſt trampled down the *Hollanders* in our way, of whom, having made ſure of the *de Wits* (their then chief Miniſters) we ſhall find an eaſy Prey. But juſt as the Ambition of that Monarch was ready to take fire at thoſe ſo ſpecious Motives, Monſieur *le Tellier*, ſince Chancellor, and Father to Monſieur *Louvois*, the eldeſt and ableſt Stateſman and Miniſter of *France*, interpos'd; the Subſtance of whoſe Speech I ſhall take care to tranſmit to your Lordſhip in my next: who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Auguſt 23.
1676. N. S.

Your very Humble Servant.

LETTER XIV.

Containing an Account of Monſieur le Tellier's *Arguments to diſſuade the* French *King from the Invaſion of* England.

My Lord,

ACcording to my Engagement in my laſt, I ſhall now entertain your Lordſhip with Monſieur *le Tellier*'s Remonſtrance, upon the Advice given the *French* King to invade *England*. He did acknowledg that the Counſel propoſed was in it ſelf very good, ſuppoſing there was a Certainty of effecting it; but it was to be conſider'd that it would prove of moſt pernicious conſequence, in caſe the ſame were attempted without Succeſs. That *England* was the Rock againſt which the late formidable Power of *Spain* had daſhed in pieces its aſpiring Fortunes; and that the like Expedition now by the Houſe of *Bourbon*, would prove alike fatal to its riſing Power, unleſs

unleſs they were infallibly ſure of their Blow. For to meddle with *England* at all, unleſs they could abſolutely conquer it, would be but to rouze a ſleepy Lyon, ſlur the Reputation of their Arms, and ſinge the Wings of their growing Greatneſs, before they were fully fledged: That it was impoſſible to make ſuch a Conqueſt, but by inteſtine Diviſions or Surprize, unleſs they were firſt Maſters of its Outworks, the *Low Countries*: That for a Surprize he thought it almoſt impracticable; and that tho it was poſſible they might lure the *Hollanders* to join with them, and *England* was then indeed unprovided of Forces both by Sea and Land, yet there was no truſting to that; becauſe there were no Factions then, whoſe Deſigns were ripe enough to favour ſuch an Enterprize. And that tho they ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful in that advantageous Juncture, as to enter *England*, they could expect no greater Advantage by it, than juſt to frighten the King and the Nation, and plunder them of a little Wealth, and ſo be gone; making but a *Tartarian* Expedition of it: Becauſe the univerſal and ſtrong Antipathy of the *Engliſh* People, both high and low, againſt the *French* Name and Domination, would be an invincible Obſtacle to their ſettling there, and would quickly make that Iſland too hot for them. That therefore meerly to attack and pillage them, without being able to reduce them totally, would but whet the Animoſity of thoſe Warlike Nations, whoſe Courage had always been wont to be heightned by Diſgraces, and was always victorious, when once fired with Indignation. That ſuch an Enterprize would for ever alienate the Heart of the then King, and the whole Royal Family from the *French* Intereſt, and make them by Inclination as well as Intereſt, not only give way to, but paſſionately abet and make moſt advantageous uſe of the natural Animoſity of their moſt Warlike Subjects againſt *France*. That it would unite the People's Hearts ſo firmly to their King, and create ſo much mutual Confidence between them, that it would be impoſſible afterward to divide them, and ſo raiſe the Power of that Monarchy to a pitch, from which it could

not chuſe but prove both formidable and fatal to them. That it would rouze up the King, then almoſt drowned in Voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual Delights, and make him a Man both of War and Buſineſs, againſt his Will; and cauſe him to enter into ſuch Alliances with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and other Powers, as muſt needs be of pernicious conſequence to the Deſigns of their great *Bourbonian* Hero. That therefore it was better not to think of any ſuch Attempt; *England* being like a Flint, ſooner broken by ſoft than hard Methods. That the King himſelf, and alſo his Brother, were much *French* by Inclination at preſent; that the former was very indulgent to his Pleaſure, and was that way ſo profuſe and prodigal, that he would always be neceſſitous of Mony, which his Parliament beginning to grow weary of giving him, it would e'er long cauſe ſuch Strugglings between the Courtiers and Patriots of the Country, as would give them ample Scope to compaſs their ends in *England* by a more ſure, and leſs dangerous way than by a War; which in all appearance would defeat all the Advantages they might otherwiſe reap there by other Methods. That therefore the beſt way was to endeavour to take advantage of the King's Infirmities, to try whether there were a witty *French* Beauty, that could be fortunate enough to gain his Affections; for that ſuch a one would be a moſt admirable Inſtrument for them. That they ſhould offer him Mony, and feed his Extravagance that way; ſend dextrous Perſons well furniſhed with Golden Charms, to work on all the leading Men among all their Factions; and ſecretly to keep ſome Penſioners, both among their Courtiers, Patriots and Churchmen, to blow up and foment new Diviſions. That they ſhould ſend thither ſome very able Ambaſſador, and keep him there a long time. That they ſhould incite the *Hollanders* to a new War with the *Engliſh*, and the *Engliſh* with them; and treat with and promiſe Aſſiſtance to the former, to the laſt moment; but in concluſion join with the latter, if it were poſſible to perſuade the *Engliſh* King to a War. And that on that pretence, they might procure ſuch

numbers

numbers of *Engliſh* Forces, eſpecially Foot, as might not only amend the Defects of their own Soldiery, which ſtill came very ſhort in good Infantry, but bring their own native People by degrees, inferring daily Examples of Strangers Bravery, to imitate their Courage and Firmneſs in Set-Battels, and to get a Stock of good Infantry by Land, by drawing the *Engliſh* to them againſt the *Dutch*, as they had already done of good Ships by Sea, and Warlike Munitions, by joining before with the *Dutch* againſt the *Engliſh* in the former Wars. Yet that they might ſo order things, that whatever Stipulations were made with the King of *England* to his advantage to allure him to ſuch a War, ſhould be eluded, and he only made a Tool of. That tho it was likely the Parliament of *England* would, upon any great Succeſs of the *French*, be for breaking of the War, and deny the King Mony to continue it longer; yet after they had made a ſufficient Impreſſion on the *Netherlands*, they might prevail by their Golden Arguments upon the King, at leaſt to continue Neuter, and leave his Land-Forces ſtill in the *French* King's Service for ſome conſiderable time. That this Juggling would in a little time raiſe Animoſities and Jealouſies between the King and Court-party, and that of the Patriots; make the latter to deny him Mony, preſs hard upon his Prerogative, raiſe new Pretenſions about Liberty and Property, which if carefully fomented by dextrous Agents, would give the King and People there work enough in mutual Conteſts at home; which would hinder them from acting any thing conſiderable abroad, keep the King always under a Neceſſity of continuing their Penſioner, for fear of becoming his Parliament's Underling; yet prop him up ſo as to preſerve him in a Capacity, ſtill to be able to keep them in ſome ſort under, and hinder the daring *Engliſh* Senate from attaining any more ſo much the Sovereignty, as to erect themſelves into a Republick: he telling them from the famous Cardinal *Richlieu*'s authentick Obſervation, that an abſolute Monarch, or a Republick in the *Britiſh* Dominions, would prove almoſt alik

fatal to *France*; that therefore it was the beſt way to endeavour a Mean between this *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, by keeping a Ballance between King and Parliament, and fomenting perpetual Conteſts between them, which was to be done by having unknown Inſtruments to ſow Jealouſies among the Patriots and People againſt the Court, and make them croſs the latter; and at the ſame time make uſe of that Croſſneſs as an Argument to perſuade the King, that his Authority could be no way ſafe without ſticking to their Alliance, and feed him with Mony, both to enable him to carry on his Buſineſs and Pleaſure without a Parliament, and to animate him from time to time to prorogue and diſſolve them upon occaſion. And when upon ſome Succeſs of the King and Court-party, they ſhould begin to make ſuch Steps towards abſolute Power, as might, if attained to, prove dangerous to the *French* Intereſt, and embolden our Monarch to ſlip his Neck out of their Collar; then anew to ſtir up the Patriots and popular Party againſt him, and abandon him wholly to them, till he were forced to break them, by returning to their Alliance again. That above all things they were not to forget to make their beſt uſe of that mighty Engine called Religion, which tho powerful all the World over, yet was of more prodigious force among the *Engliſh* People, than among any other in the habitable Earth. Now this Advice, my Lord, as coming from ſo old and experienced a Stateſman, and the ableſt Diſciple, who had, *viva Voce*, heard the Documents and Precepts of the great *Richlieu*, that famous Architect of the *French* Grandure, was aſſented to both as the Wiſeſt and Secureſt, and was afterward in every *Punctilio* put in execution, as Time and Conjunctures afforded occaſion: whereof your Lordſhip may expect an account in due time, from him who is,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Humble Servant.

Paris, Sept. 17.
1676. N. S.

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LETTER XV.

Of the Methods the French *use in keeping Intelligence among their Neighbour-Nations,* &c.

My Lord,

I Cannot think but that your Lordship will be pleased to understand how the *French* keep their Correspondence among, and make Tools of Men and Parties most averse to them in their Neighbour-Nations, and whom no manner of Motives would ever be prevalent enough to make instrumental to promote an Interest so hateful to them, did they but know who they wrought for; and it *is*, my Lord, in this manner. Would they set the Conformists and Nonconformists pickeering at one another? Thus they did it presently after the first *Dutch* War, in order to prepare Factions to make way for the Designs which followed. They had diligent Spies to inform them where Men of quaint Wits, brisk Tempers, Self-conceited, but Atheistical in Principles, or at least of very loose Morals, were to be found; as likewise to take notice of those that were in reality most able and more zealous, both of Conformists and others, in their several ways, than the rest of their Brethren. Then the first, by some Persons that pretended to admire their Wits, and that were *French* Pensioners, (tho some of them did not know it) were either by some present *Modicum* of Mony, Promise of Preferment, or sometimes by the mere tickling Praises of the said qualified Persons, put upon writing something that might check Religion, particularly that established: Then they knew the Crime would be laid at the door of some Nonconformists, and cause the Reforming Clergy to write bitterly and reflectingly a-

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gainſt them; and them again to juſtify themſelves and recriminate, till at length they engaged not only the Body of the Nation, but even their Auguſt Repreſentatives likewiſe in their Quarrels; and ſo from religious Conteſts produced State-Factions: and in this all of them, tho they were of different Parties, were told they would pleaſe both their King, Parliament and Country. For the Diſſenters were told, that tho for Policy's ſake the King did not publickly abet them, yet he was ſecretly diſpoſed to favour them, and ſuch Writings, if well penned, would not diſpleaſe, and might procure them at laſt Eaſe in a Parliament, *&c.* And for the Conformiſts, they were eaſily perſuaded, that by ridiculing the Diſſenters, immoderately extolling the Excellency of their own Ceremonies, and the ſuperlative Extent of the Prerogative, they could not fail to pleaſe neither. And thence, *My Lord*, came that Legion of Books of that nature, that came out in the Interval between the Two *Dutch* Wars, and which made way for After-Diviſions, of which I ſaw a Catalogue, with the Books printed, and of what Service they were for the Intereſt of the *French* Court: Some I have forgot, and ſome I remember, but ſhall not name any, for fear of reflecting on any worthy Perſons, who, I am perſuaded, did not know by what Inſtruments they were abetted on either ſide. Then for keeping ſeveral Lords and Commons too in Penſion to their Ends, without their Knowledge, thus they did it: They had their *Jews*, and ſome other Bankers at their Devotion, who would under an Obligation of great Secrecy, tell them, that they were ordered to allow them ſo much Mony, ſaying ſometimes it was from their own King, to do him ſome private Service, in or out of Parliament, or from the *Spaniſh*, *Imperial*, or *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, under pretence of ſerving their Intereſts, and their own Countries too, againſt Prerogative, Oppreſſion in Religion, *&c.* and oftentimes directly to oppoſe Popery, and the *French* Intereſt; that by firing them on with too great vehemency to purſue thoſe Points, the *French* Court might more eaſily compaſs other Ends aimed at, which they

they whom they thus incited did not so much as dream of. Thus while many in our Parliaments were so fierce against Papists, Arbitrary Power, and the *French* Interest, and cried out against all of the Court-Party as *French* Pensioners (tho 'tis true, too many of them were so) as does appear; yet little thought they, that they were likewise so themselves, and never imagined the same *French* were Abetters of both Parties. And the better to cover this underhand Play, they drew off most of the Mony they employ'd to this latter sort, by the way of *Genoa*, *Florence*, *Amsterdam*, and *Hamburgh*; that it might not be discovered, it came originally from *France*. Nay, my Lord, by the by, be pleased to take notice that one main cause of the *French* King's Indignation against *Genoa*, tho it be a very secret one, and known to few, was their Bankers cackling, and discovering to the Agents of the House of *Austria*, the Mony privately sent and dispersed, and sent towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Turkey*, and some other Parts not named: this has made them imploy none ever since almost, but what are openly or covertly *Jews*, who serve the *French* King with great Fidelity for these Reasons:

1. He is in their Esteem the most Powerful in *Christendom*.

2. Because he favours the Grand *Turk*, where they have so great a Commerce, and are in such Numbers.

3. Because he gives them a Liberty by Connivance, tho not open Toleration.

4. Because he is so great an Enemy to the *Austrian* Family, who have been so cruel to them by the Inquisition, and by banishing them not only out of the *Spanish* Territories, but likewise out of the Emperor's Hereditary Countries.

5. And Lastly, Because he seems to them to be of no Religion, but almost as great a Scourge to the Christians in general, both Popish and others, as the *Turk*, *Tartar*, or *Barbarian*; their Principles naturally leading them to admire and revere any thing they think a Plague to Christians, whom they are taught to curse daily, even

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in their ſolemn Prayers; and therefore *England* had need have a care of them in this Juncture.

But as for the Penſions they gave the Courtiers, they induſtriouſly affected the tranſmiſſion of thoſe Monies from *France*, and had their Agents buſy to buz it abroad, in order to render them odious to the People, and to incite the Patriots the more violently againſt them. And tho a great part of the Mony they allowed the King from time to time, were ſometimes tranſmitted from the abovementioned Places, and ſome from *Venice*, yet private notice was preſently given to their Agents in *England* and elſewhere, with poſitive Orders to inform the World of the Truth of that Intrigue; unleſs it were ſometimes when a particular Critical Juncture might require a contrary Procedure. My Lord, This is the Sum of what I could learn in reſpect to their Correſpondence in *England*, either from the Minutes or private Converſation, of which your Lordſhip is ſenſible, I have as great an opportunity as any other; and with which I ſhall at preſent conclude: who am,

My Lord,

Your Honour's moſt Humble Servant.

Paris, Oct. 11. 1676. N. S.

LETTER XVI.

Of the French *King's frequent Reviews of his Troops in* 1670. *and of the Umbrage taken in* England *thereupon, and of the Duke of* Buckingham's *Embaſſy into* France.

My Lord,

I HAVE formerly given your Lordſhip an account of the great Levies in *France*, and vaſt Preparations for War both by Sea and Land, what Care had been taken

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to ſecure the Domeſtick Peace in the mean time, and what the opinions of the *French* Miniſters of State were, in regard to what Country ſhould be invaded by them. And I am now to acquaint your Lordſhip, that when their military Preparations were pretty forward, which was in the Year 1670. they began to make frequent Reviews of their Troops, which for amuſement, they continued till the end of the next Year, in ſeveral Bodies towards as many different Frontiers, that their Neighbour-Nations being uſed to them, and ſeeing no Effects follow, might think they were only done out of a Vanity to make Oſtentation of the *French* Power and Grandeur, to keep their Soldiers in Diſcipline, and find their Nobility and active Spirits Employment, who elſe might buſy themſelves for want of Occupation in diſturbing the State. The Artifice took, ſo that moſt of their Neighbours, tho now and then they were troubled with a Fit of Thoughtfulneſs and Suſpicion, began to grow ſecure; and particularly the *Hollanders*, who thought the *French* King ſo much in Jeſt, that they tauntingly called him, *Le Roy des Reveues*, till more extraordinary and more viſible Preparations and Movements did by degrees begin to convince them of their Error: for when they had thus finiſhed their Reviews, they ſuddenly drew a very conſiderable Army, compoſed of the Flower of all their Forces towards *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, (the *Dutch* being in the mean time tampered with, as I am apt to believe, concerning the Invaſion of *England*; but yet now full of Jealouſy at their Proceedings) and here it was the Council was held about the eligibility of employing their Force, the Debates whereof I have already given your Lordſhip an Account of. And as the *Dutch* were jealous upon this Approach, the *Engliſh* were much more (as your Lordſhip may well remember) to ſee ſuch a Power brave *England* on the oppoſite Shore, and look with an amorous Eye towards it; and the more becauſe of the unprepared Poſture the Nation was then in; inſomuch that it was thought adviſable, to diſpatch an Embaſſy to ſound the Intentions of the *French* Monarch, in regard to *England*

land: whereupon Choice was made of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who admirably well maintained that Character, and the Glory of *Great Britain*, on that occasion; and demeaned himself with such an Intrepidity of Mind and Conduct, and with such a Grandeur and Unconcernedness at the formidable armed Powers he saw before his Eyes, that those who had been Strangers to the then Condition of our Nation, would have thought he had been sent from a Prince that was at the Head of twice as big an Army, as the *French* King at that time shewed the Duke. And that Conduct did not a little appall the Presumption of that ambitious King, and contributed much to the inclining of him to acquiesce in Monsieur *le Tellier*'s Counsel: but then withal, making him take notice of the rare and more than ordinary Parts and Abilities of the said Duke, it put him naturally upon concluding that it was well worth the while to endeavour to gain such a Person over to his Interest, whose Influence might be great, either in bringing his Prince to such a Compliance as he desired; or at least in briguing for *France* against him, in case he proved inflexible. To this end, such Compliments were past upon the Duke, such extraordinary Honours done him, and Presents made him, as never no Embassador before nor since hardly ever received; insomuch as the Duke suffered himself to be charmed, and ever since favoured the *French* Interest, either with or against his Prince, as Occasion or Policy directed. In fine, he was told, that the *French* King indeed, tho he has great Temptations from Opportunity and Interest to attack *England*, yet such was his Respect and Inclination for our King, that he was more disposed to imploy his Forces against *Holland*: And that he might with the surer Success undertake such an Expedition, his Majesty earnestly prest the Duke to do his utmost to influence his Master to join his Naval Forces with him in that War, by which means he might revenge the Disgraces received in the last, especially that of *Chatham*, as likewise the fresher Insolencies of that saucy Republick, whose Vicinity and Power was so much

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the more dangerous to the *British* Monarchs, than to any other crowned Heads, as the Subjects of these Nations were more prone to hanker after the Liberty enjoy'd by the *Hollanders*, and to imitate their successful Example. That by so doing his Excellency would do his own Prince very great Service, and have the honour of obliging a great Monarch, who was as generous in his Resentments, as formidable in Power, *&c.* The Duke returned home well satisfy'd, and brought a pleasing Answer to our King, and ply'd him warmly with the Proposition aforesaid, tho at first he was not much hearkned to: But how, when, and by whose means their Designs were afterward accomplished, your Lordship may expect to hear when Conveniency serves, from,

Paris, Nov. 30. 1676. N. S.

My Lord,

Your very humble Servant.

LETTER XVII.

Of the Princess Henrietta Maria *Dutchess of* Orleans's *being sent,* Anno 1670. *from the* French *Court, to dispose the King to a second War with the* Dutch, *in Conjunction with the* French.

My Lord,

THE *French* Court having, as I told your Lordship in my last, gained the Duke of *Buckingham* entirely to their Interests, they began now to conceive some hopes to bring our King to join with them against the States, at least with his naval Power, of which they had most need; and therefore to strike while the Iron was hot, they deliberated of sending over an Ambassador of their own into *England* to negotiate the matter; but to colour

lour the Intrigue as if they had no Deſign of their own thereby, and to give no matter of Jealouſy to their Neighbours, eſpecially the United Provinces; it was agreed, it ſhould be a Female Embaſſadreſs, the King's fair Siſter *Henrietta Maria*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, and ſo give out at the ſame time, ſhe went over purely on a Viſit to her Royal Brothers; and that it was with ſome ſeeming Reluctancy the *French* King upon her earneſt Application to him to that purpoſe gave his conſent: But ſhe was furniſhed with ſuch Propoſals, which they knew well that ſent her, none could with equal Safety and Privacy advance, nor none with equal Power and Influence recommend. And to ſecure the whole Tranſaction from the very Suſpicion, as well as Penetration of any not of their Cabal; and to make it appear a pure Viſit, and the Effect of natural Affection and void of all Intrigue, her Return was limited to ſo ſhort a time, and in ſo peremptory and notorious a manner, that it might induce the World to believe them too ſuſſpicious of the natural Inclinations that Princeſs might ſtill retain for her Royal Brothers, and for the Wealth of her and their native Country, ſo incompatible with the exorbitant Grandeur of *France*, to entruſt her with any of the myſterious *Arcanas* of their Politicks; and ſo might prevent all Jealouſy in *England*, at that critical Juncture of that Interview, by ſhewing ſo great an Apprehenſion of it themſelves. She was charged with the ſame Meſſage partly, and with ſome of the ſame Arguments, which they had endeavour'd to inſinuate by the Duke of *Buckingham*: but having an incomparable Advantage above him, or any other Ambaſſador, to back whatſoever ſhe advanced with all the Charms that a moſt accompliſhed and lovely Princeſs, and an only and moſt beloved Siſter, could be armed with; ſhe who had Wit and Dexterity enough to manage thoſe Privileges to the utmoſt advantage, not only preſt the ſaid Matter more home, and with infinitely more Freedom and Efficacy, but adventur'd to propoſe yet higher things, and of a much more extended Conſequence. For addreſſing her Speech to

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the King (tho not without intermixing ſome Expreſſions equally affecting alſo to her Brother the Duke of *York*) ſhe told his Majeſty, that as ſhe hoped neither of her Royal Brothers had any reaſon to call in queſtion her natural Affection to their Perſons, and inſeparable Inclination for whatſoever did, or ſhould at any time appear to her to be conducing to their true Intereſt; ſo ſhe believed they had as little cauſe to doubt, but ſhe could ſee as far as another into the *French* Monarch's Heart, who loved her and admired her to that degree, tho innocently, as gave no ſmall Umbrage to *Monſieur* his Brother, and her Husband: And that ſhe did ſincerely repreſent, both as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Senſe, and her own, that the only way to ſecure to his Majeſty, and the preſent Royal Family of *England*, a ſtability in the Throne they were lately reſtored to, after ſo diſmal an overthrow of the Monarchy, in the Reign and Perſon of their unhappy Father, and to reinſtate the Majeſty of the *Britiſh* Kings in its former Splendor and Security, enjoyed ſo long and gloriouſly in Catholick Times, was by all Wiſe and Politick Means to labour to introduce into theſe Kingdoms the Catholick Religion, and to re-aſſume by degrees abſolute Power. For that the Church of *England* by woful Experience had been found too weak alone to defend the Crown, and that the Diſſenters were ſo ſtiffly principled for a Commonwealth, that they would never leave till they had once more overturn'd the Monarchy, unleſs his Majeſty would timely provide for his Security, by Methods to be propoſed to him by her, and the moſt Chriſtian King; who ſhe knew had the utmoſt tenderneſs for his Intereſt, as was clear enough by all Expreſſions of his real Inclinations, ſince they were emancipated from the reſtraints laid upon them under the Tutelage of a Cardinal, who was a Maſter in pure Politicks, and altogether unacquainted with thoſe nobler and more heroick Sentiments of Honour and Generoſity, which are no leſs natural and unextinguiſhable in a born Prince, than common Reaſon is in the reſt of Mankind. The chief of which Expedients were flattering of the Church of *England*

land, and first persecuting by Act of Parliament the Protestant Dissenters, and wheedling with them again by a Prerogative Lenitive; and so by the not to be questioned acceptance of the suffering Protestants on the one hand, and the no less assured Non-opposition of those of the establish'd Church on the other, as by an irresistible Charm, to lay asleep that watchful Dragon, that had so long kept the golden Apples of Contention between the King and People, from the Ravishment of the most enterprizing Monarch; and break that mischievous Devil, that had of late been so busy in asserting pretended Liberties; and advancing the Sovereignty of old hateful Laws, above the more Sacred Majesty of the Princes, the only rightful Legislators, whilst the Crown as securely as unregardedly might seize, and seizing for all Perpetuity, appropriate as to it self the important Jewel of dispensing Power, which would fix and fasten the whole Chappelet of unbounded Sovereignty, by making use of that popular Relaxation, to indulge the Faction esteemed the most dangerous to the Monarchy, and to decoy them into a favouring of those Encroachments upon the Laws, and upon the Peoples Fundamental Right, and therein the Legislation, who seemed of all Men the most deeply principled against them: And so in effect to make those very Persons the Tools for the Erection of absolute and despotick Sway, who otherwise could hardly be reconciled to the most Just, most Legal, and most moderate Royalty. So far were the measures to be observed at home; and those which she and their Brother of *France* advised to be used abroad, were,

1. To endeavour by all possible means the Subversion of the Republick of *Holland*, the perpetual Source of Rebellion in *England*.

2. In order, with so much the more Expedition, Certainty and Safety to effect the Reduction both of his own People, and of that untoward neighbouring Nest, and Receptacle of Plotters and Rebels; to resolve upon a firm and inviolable Adherence to the Interest of the most Christian King, who in that case would no way desert him,

him, but vigorously and powerfully aid him, and carry him through all Difficulties. But in case, added she, his Majesty could not satisfy his Conscience well enough, to attempt any such Change in Religion (as she just now had mentioned) or notwithstanding all Remonstrances to the contrary, should continue over-persuaded of the too great difficulty, or impracticableness of such an Enterprize; that however as a Protestant of the Church of *England*, which was firm to Monarchy, if he desired to put himself into a Condition to protect that, and that reciprocally to defend him and his Successors in time to come; it would be absolutely necessary for him at least to concur with his most Christian Majesty in subduing the Republick of *Holland*: That besides the Advantage of such a Repartition of the conquered Country, as he could reasonably expect, he should find upon the Reduction of it, that the Commonwealth Faction in *England*, and her two other Sister Kingdoms, would dwindle away of it self; and so the King would not only become absolute Master of his People, but as his Christian Majesty would concert the sharing of those Provinces with his Brother of *England*, the Naval Power and Trade of *Great Britain* would receive an incredible augmentation by the Destruction of a State, that was her only Competitor at Sea, and in Commerce and Riches promoted thereby. For that not only their Shipping and Seamen, together with their Chief Sea-Ports, and best Sea-Provinces, all entire, would be his Majesty's, but also that all the most wealthy and substantial Merchants, and industrious and ingenious Tradesmen and Artificers, even of the Provinces and Parts that should fall to the share of the most Christian King, would in all appearance transplant themselves either into *England* or *Ireland*, as lying more convenient for Trade, than their own Country, or at least into those Parts of the *Netherlands* which should be reduced under the Power of the King of *Great Britain*; to whose Domination, as approaching neareſt the Sweetness and Freedom of that they now were under, they would certainly more wil-

lingly ſubmit their Perſons and Fortunes, than to that of the more abſolute one of the *French* Monarch, againſt which they had entertained a thouſand Prejudices. In fine, ſhe moſt earneſtly and affectionately beſought him to take thoſe Matters into his moſt ſerious Conſideration, and to return a ſpeedy, and if it might any ways be, a favourable Anſwer; that ſhe might have the Happineſs to return back the Meſſenger of good News, and ſuch News as might prove a Foundation of a laſting Felicity to both the Illuſtrious Families, from which both his Majeſty and her ſelf were deſcended. The King after a little ſilence, told her by way of Reply to the things ſhe had repreſented to him, That it was impoſſible for him to doubt of the ardency and reality of the Affection of a Siſter ſo amiable, and who had always expreſt ſo much tenderneſs for his Intereſt: That he as little queſtioned, but that ſhe had penetrated as far into the Interiors of his Brother of *France*, as it was poſſible any one could into the Heart of a King; and therefore upon her Repreſentation of him chiefly, which he aſſured her would induce him to give the more Credit to the favourable Conjectures he had made of his Temper, during the little time he had the Honour to converſe with him whilſt in Exile, and to the general Character he had, ſince his perſonal Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, obtained in the World, being a Prince of great Honour and Generoſity; and thereupon paſſing by ſome former unhandſom and unkind Treatments in his Court, as pure Effects and Influences of the over-ruling Aſcendent of the then Regnant *Mazarine*, and not of that Prince's own Inclination; he ſhould put much Confidence in the Sincerity of the moſt Chriſtian King, and accordingly deſired her to return his ſaid Majeſty his royal and moſt hearty Thanks for thoſe obliging Expreſſions of Amity and Affection, he had ſignified to him by her; and to aſſure him in his Name, he ſhould ever have his Friendſhip in high eſteem, and would go as great lengths as in Prudence and Intereſt he could, to ſerve him, and to comply with his Deſires: But that the Matters propoſed being of the higheſt conſequence,

ſequence, he muſt beg his Excuſe if he required more time to give him a poſitive and ſatisfactory Anſwer thereto, than the ſhort ſpace limited for her ſtay in *England* would permit; however, that he would with all convenient Expedition give him a better Account. In the mean while, he ſhould requeſt his moſt Chriſtian Brother by her, to do him the Juſtice to believe he was as ſincerely affectioned to his Perſon, as he could be to his, and ſhould ever perſiſt to be, as far as a King of *England* could, his conſtant and obſequious Friend. The like Compliment, as far as it was agreeable to his Circumſtances, was returned by the Duke. After which the Princeſs renewing the Charge in the Buſineſs of Religion, the King freely told her, That as to that Point, tho he had entertained very kind and favourable Thoughts of the *Roman* Religion, and its Profeſſors, for ſeveral Reaſons he inſtanced; and did believe, that if it were re-eſtabliſhed in his Dominions, the Monarchy would be ſafer and eaſier than it could be under the preſent ſtate of Proteſtancy; yet he was not ſo fully ſatisfied in it, as to make it his own Religion: and that on the other ſide he foreſaw ſuch unſurmountable Difficulties in attempting ſuch a Re-eſtabliſhment, that he did not think any Policy, no, nor the whole Power of *France*, could he command it all entire, without any diverſion from other intereſted Neighbours, (too extraordinary a Juncture to be probably expected) could be able to carry him through them. To which the Princeſs, who ſaw well enough, as well by his Looks and Actions as by his Expreſſions, that ſhe had made more ſenſible Impreſſions upon his Spirits, than he was willing to acknowledge; thinking ſhe had done enough for her part, and ſufficiently broke the Ice, for thoſe that ſhould be deſigned to puſh the Point further at more leiſure, modeſtly replied; That ſince that was his Majeſty's Senſe, in which he was fixed, ſhe would wave all farther Importunities on that Subject, and leave it wholly depending between himſelf and God, whom ſhe would continually pray to inſpire his Majeſty with Light enough to know, and Cou-

rage enough to embrace the Truth, in his appointed time: But however, ſhe ſhould be glad to know his Majeſty's Sentiments as to the Deſign againſt *Holland*; adding, that ſhe was confident, he could not but think it was at leaſt for his Intereſt, and feaſible too. Yes, Madam, anſwer'd the King, I am convinc'd that if crown'd with Succeſs, it would be enough for the Intereſt of this Monarchy, and of my Subjects too; but yet as practicable as it ſeems to be to you, it is likewiſe not without its Difficulties, and thoſe very great ones too: for the ill Succeſs of my laſt War with that Nation, the Diſſatisfaction of my People thereupon, the Triple League in which I am lately engaged with *Holland*; the Inclination my Subjects have for the *Dutch*, as being a Proteſtant Nation, and the implacable Averſion they have to the *French*, and their Jealouſies of their Power, and of their Religion, are mighty Obſtacles in the way: However, if my Brother of *France* can propoſe me any practicable Expedients to remove them, which I much doubt, I will, as I have ſaid, do what I can to comply with him in that Enterprize. And ſo the Princeſs declaring her ſelf well ſatisfied, with what had been ſaid upon the Subject of her Errand, they paſſed from the Buſineſſes of State, to the Divertiſements of the Court; from which being obliged much ſooner to break off than they were willing, by the more ſwift than welcome approach of the time limited for her Departure, with unconceivable Regret, and ill-preſaging Tears, ſhe took her leave of her Royal Brothers; tho little did ſhe or they imagine it to be her laſt Farewel, for ſoon after her return to *France* ſhe died, not without vehement Suſpicion of being poiſoned: But that her Husband the Duke of *Orleans* had any juſt Cauſe given him further to foment his Jealouſy of her upon this Viſit, (for he certainly was ſuſpicious of her Conduct before any mention of that Journy) and to puſh him on to the practice of undue means to accelerate her Fate, has been a matter of much Diſcourſe both in *England* and *France*, and continues to this day a Myſtery, which I will not

nor

nor cannot pretend to determine: and ſo begging your Lordſhip's pardon for this tedious Epiſtle, I remain,

Paris, Feb. 3. 1677. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER XVIII.

Of Mrs. Carwell's *coming into* England *in* 1670. *and being introduced to be the King's Miſs.*

My Lord,

IN one of my Letters to your Lordſhip, concerning Monſieur *le Tellier*'s Sentiments, in regard to the management of the Affairs of *England* to the advantage of the *French*, among other Expedients he propoſed the ſending over ſome choice Female, as might be capable to charm a Prince, whoſe Heart was ſo ſuſceptible of an amorous Flame as that of the King of *England*. In conformity to which Project, they made choice of the Opportunity of the Princeſs's going over to effect it; and therefore ſhe upon her arrival preſented our King, her Brother, with her Woman, known then by the Name of Madam *Carwell*, but much better ſince by the Title of Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, to ſerve the *French* King as a Heifer afterwards to plough withal, as being ſuch as was not careleſly or fortuitouſly picked out from among the *French* Herd, but expreſly ſingled out for that purpoſe; and how well ſhe acted her Part in time coming, will appear in its proper place: ſo that if they failed in their Ends of furniſhing the King with a *French* Wife, they were reſolved to make it up, by ſupplying of him

him with a *French* Whore: and this being an Omiſſion in my laſt, and having nothing of greater moment to write at preſent, to keep my Correſpondence with your Lordſhip; I have taken the Opportunity to teſtify unto you how ready I am,

My Lord,

Paris Feb. 8. 1677. N.S.

To Serve You.

LETTER XIX.

The Paces made by the Duke of Buckingham, *and afterward by the Princeſs* Henrietta Maria *Dutcheſs of* Orleans, *towards bringing the King over to join with the* French *againſt the* Dutch, *not fully ſucceeding according to Expectation, they reſolve upon other Methods: Firſt by making ſure of the Duke of* York, *and then by inciting the* Dutch *to provoke the King to a War with them.*

My Lord,

I HAVE given your Lordſhip an account of the Princeſs *Henrietta*'s Negotiation in *England*, and of the King's dilatory Anſwer, in regard to his Conjunction with the *French* to make War upon the *United Provinces*, which put the *French* Politicians ſomewhat to a Nonplus; but conſidering how well inclined the Duke was to the Popiſh Religion, and how he had expreſs'd his Thoughts to the Princeſs, the King being preſent, of the advantage and reaſonableneſs of the *French* Propoſals, they made an Eſſay, to ſee what they could do that way,

and

and whether the great Confidence he had with, and Influence over his Brother, might not induce him to accept of the Offer. They found him pliable enough; but upon Application, he did not find the King so, but much more disposed to live at Rest and Pleasure, than to engage himself in so much Sollicitude, as a War would inevitably bring him to: And besides, he was much afraid to discontent his People further, who were already so ill satisfied with the ill Conduct and Disasters that befel them in the last War, and whom he knew so wholly averse to a new one, unless the Fresh-Water Gaudy. Caps and Feathers especially were dismissed, and the Conduct of it wholly left to the Old Tarpaulins, who so successfully asserted their Cause with those People in the *Republican* and *Oliverian* times, the Happiness of which the late ill Success had much enhaunced in their Eyes. Yet the *French* Agents continued pressing of him, and tampering with his Ministers to compass their Ends; urging all the specious Motives in the World, and sparing neither present Advances of Mony, nor the most magnificent Promises of future Acknowledgment: but finding still a great Resistance to any such Overtures, they at length resolved to play their Game another way, and employ'd their Emissaries in *Holland*, to stir up those People to provoke the King's Resentments, by all the ways that artful Malice could devise: they caused him to be represented to them as a mean-spirited Prince, drowned in Pleasures, and by them Bankrupt; and that would put up any Affronts, rather than be weaned from them a moment. That slender Courage he had, being cowed in the last War, as likewise were the Spirits of the proudest Merchants and Seamen, his Subjects, under such an unactive Prince; adding moreover, that to their certain knowledge the Duke of *York* was now a Papist, tho in hugger-mugger, and that the People had a strong suspicion of it, how clandestinely soever carried, and had thereupon conceived such an implacable Jealousy against the Duke, as well as against the King himself on his account, that they would never patiently brook

the Command of the one, nor heartily assist or fight for the other, in a War against a Protestant State; but break into Factions, and rather abet them, than support so Unwarlike, so Unfortunate, and what was worst of all, so Popishly-affected a Prince: that therefore now was the time to give the finishing stroke to that so great, so glorious, and so advantageous a Work, to their most puissant and renowned Republick, which they had more than half done in the last War, under the favour of the most powerful Assistance of their great Master, *viz.* to obtain for ever the Dominion of the Seas, so highly contended for by the *English*, and ingross the whole Trade of both the Hemispheres to themselves: And that in so glorious an Undertaking, as the great Monarch of *France* had, when in extremity, most opportunely and successfully assisted them in the preceding War; so he was determined to do in this, not with a few Auxiliary Troops and Ships as before, but with his whole Force: being resolv'd on nothing less than to concur with their High Mightinesses for the absolute Conquest of that Queen of Islands, that had so long domineered over the Sea, and pretended to give Laws upon that Element, which God and Nature had left as free as the Air it self. And that their High and Mightinesses might enter into no Umbrage of his designing any Greatness to himself, that might be prejudicial to them by such a Conquest; he was content to share it with them, and that so partially in their favour, that he would satisfy himself with the two poorer Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; the former for the sake of its antient Alliances with his Kingdom, and the latter because of the Conformity of the Religion of its native Inhabitants with that of his own Subjects; leaving to them the Principal, which was *England*, where all the chief Trade, Riches and Power, both by Sea and Land, of the *British* Empire, was concentred together, with all its goodly Dependances both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, with which he could not pretend to meddle. The success of which

Proposals

Propoſals I deſign ſhall be the ſubject of another Letter with the firſt opportunity, from

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

Paris, Feb. 13. 1677. N. S.

LETTER XX.

The Dutch, *upon the foreſaid Remonſtrances made to them by the* French *King, being induced to enter into a Treaty with him, were wheedled by the* French *Embaſſador to ſign their Part of it, and to ſend it to the* French *King for him to ſign; but he pretending ſpecious delays, ſends it to the King of* England, *uſing it for an Argument for his Compliance with the Propoſals he made to him of entring into a War in conjunction with him againſt the States: but ordering his Embaſſador withal to acquaint him, that in caſe of his refuſal, he muſt be obliged to turn the Sham-League with the* Dutch *into a real one.*

My Lord,

THE ſpecious Remonſtrances, and more inviting Propoſals made on the *French* King's part to the *Dutch*, as mentioned in my laſt to your Lordſhip, ſo tickled the *Hogens*, that they ſuffered themſelves to be deluded into a cloſe Treaty with the *French* Court for that great Expedition; not at all thinking what Ruin was deſigned themſelves, and what diviſion of their own Territories between the *French* and *Engliſh* was then modelling

among the *Monſieurs*, as a further tentative to induce our King to arm with *France* againſt *Holland*; and that the very League the *French* pretended to be making with them, was but the maſter Stratagem to procure that other Alliance, that without the unexpected and timely interpoſition of Divine Providence had proved the *Mene-Tekel* of their flouriſhing State, and turned that great Magazine of the Trade and Riches of the Univerſe into a ſorry bank of Lillies. Accordingly they began firſt to inſult our King in his Perſon, by multitudes of moſt ſcandalous and inſupportable Paſquinades and Pictures, which the *French* Agents endeavouring to make him reſent as they deſerved, and finding ſtill that he declined to comply with their deſires; alledging again for anſwer, the ill ſucceſs of the laſt War, cauſed chiefly by them, the averſeneſs of his People to another War, *&c.* and farther, his unwillingneſs only for Injuries that perſonally concerned himſelf alone, to engage thoſe Nations again in ſo bloody and deſtructive a War, as after all could be of no very conſiderable advantage to either ſide, be the event what it would: they proceeded then to tempt him further, by offering a larger proportion of thoſe Provinces when conquered; and beſides, ſuch an aſſiſtance in Mony, as ſhould enable him to go through with the War, tho his Parliament ſhould deny their Concurrence with him therein; and to make their perſuaſions the more effectual, they did again warmly ply the Duke of *York*, attacking of him on the blind ſide, *viz.* his Religion, and telling him, that tho he were privately a *Catholick*, yet the People began to have a ſtrong ſuſpicion of it, and would at long run come to know it, and would not fail then to make ſuch ſtrong brigues againſt him, as that they would certainly put him by the Succeſſion; unleſs before ſuch a Diſcovery were perfectly made, he could induce his Brother to join his Arms with thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's, for the Conqueſt of *Holland*; where were the Vitals that adminiſtred Life and Spirits to all thoſe Factions he had to fear, and which after the Conqueſt of

that united many-headed *Hydra*, would ſoon be ſuppreſt, but could be by no other way; and that then the Introduction of the *Roman* Religion into theſe Kingdoms, whenever he ſhould ſucceed to them, would be eaſy, elſe impoſſible. That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was then provided with ſuch formidable Forces, and had laid the Empire into ſuch a Sleep of Security, and ſo amus'd the other Neighbour Princes with ſuch doubtful and contrary Appearances, that before they could awake, and rub off the Duſt they had thrown in their Eyes, they might have done their work on the *Hollanders*, who leaſt of all the reſt expected an Attack, and were therefore unprovided. The Duke forward enough before, but now quite overcome by theſe Pretences, became their moſt earneſt Sollicitor anew to the King: but tho he neglected nothing in that caſe, that a Prince of that great Influence over his Brother could do, to bring him over to conſent to the Meaſures concerted between the *French* and him; he found him ſtill inflexible and averſe to a War, not out of any Diſaffection to the Cauſe, but out of a Love to Eaſe, and a Principle of Fear, as I have formerly hinted to your Lordſhip. Upon which the *French* Council proceeded to their laſt Maſter-ſtroke in this Buſineſs, reſolving in caſe they ſucceeded not therein, in ſpite of all hazards, to take the opportunity of joining with *Holland*, to invade and conquer *England*, if poſſible.

To this end they had all along managed a cloſe Treaty with *Holland*, even while they were endeavouring one in *England*, by the powerful Negotiation of their Friends the *de Witts*, and the *Loveſtein* Faction. So then, ſtill the more to rouze up our King's Reſentments, or to force him to make appear to the World, that he had indeed none, neither for his own Royal Dignity and Honour, nor for the Honour or Intereſt of his Relations and Kingdoms, nay not ſo much as a Senſe of the Preſervation of any of them from Dangers, tho ever ſo viſible, ſo preſent, and ſo fatal to all and every of them; they put the *de Witts* on all the Efforts they could to keep down the moſt Antient and Illuſtrious Fa-

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mily of *Naſſaw*, under the ſpecious Pretences of the Danger the Liberty of the Commonwealth might one one day run, from the ſuſpicious Greatneſs of that Houſe, ſo well deſerving of them; eſpecially, if ever it were ſo fortunate, as to mount the Throne of *Great Britain*, their incompatible Rival in naval Power and Trade: and with whom, by reaſon of their near Relation to that Crown, that Houſe could not but by Inclination and Intereſt have ſuch a Correſpondence, as muſt needs render it imprudent and unſafe in the States, to admit the preſent Prince into the ſame Honours and important Charges in that Juncture, which his Anceſtors, in the Infancy of the Commonwealth, had enjoy'd and exercis'd, ſo much to their advantage. And accordingly what Steps were made by thoſe two Miniſters to keep the Prince of *Orange* from the Poſſeſſion of the antient Honours and Privileges of his Houſe, is too well known to need mentioning. Which Deſign being thus ſet on foot by thoſe Miniſters, the *French* ſtill the more eagerly to incite them to purſue their Point, inſinuated to them, That the only way to expect the full Accompliſhment of their Deſires in the total Deſtruction of that Family, would be to cauſe a new War to be declared againſt *England*, upon the plauſible Pretences and Encouragements before-mention'd: in which Juncture the People of *Holland*, who in the Prince his Father's time, had begun to conceive an Umbrage of that Family, would be the more eaſily brought to conſent to what remained, to the utter depriving and diſenabling them to aſpire to any Greatneſs that might be above their Pity: and that by the potent and auſpicious Aſſiſtance of the *French* Monarch in that War, the States coming to overpower ſo gloriouſly their Rival in Trade, and to acquire a Poſſeſſion of ſo great a ſhare of the *Britiſh* Dominions as was projected between them, and as they would in all appearance under the Favour of that preſent Conjuncture, not fail to attain to; they, the *de Witts*, by procuring the States ſo ſeaſonable and powerful an Aſſiſtance, and puſhing them on to a War that ſhould end with ſo

much Glory and Advantage to them, would quite eclipſe the great Services and Merits of the *Naſſovian* and *Orangian* Heroes, in the earlier years of the Republick, and give the ſaid *de Witts* opportunity by degrees to raiſe their own Family to the ſame, if not much greater Honours and Privileges, than thoſe that had been ſo long enjoy'd by that illuſtrious Houſe: in which, added they, you may be aſſured, that from time to time, you ſhall never want the friendly Offices, and moſt efficacious Aſſiſtances of our invincible Monarch, who is no leſs conſtant, generous, and magnificent, in his Reſentments towards his Allies and Friends, than he is formidable and inflexible in thoſe towards his Enemies. In fine, they ſoothed theſe miſerable ambitious Miniſters to that degree, and acted that Sham-Treaty with *Holland*, by their means, ſo to the Life, that the States not doubting but they were in earneſt, made all the forward Steps imaginable towards the Alliance propoſed, and began to arm by Sea, not minding in how careleſs a Poſture they left all their Places by Land, as dreaming of nothing from *France* but Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance. And accordingly that Faction having with all the Heat and Diligence imaginable, concerted and concluded a Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſador, he like a ſly Gameſter wheedled them to ſign their Part in it, and ſent it forthwith as privately to his Maſter; who, ſaid he, would not fail immediately to anſwer them with a Counter-change; telling them, that by this means, they would ſhew a great Deference to his Dignity, and the Figure he made in *Europe*, and teſtify their great Confidence in him, than which nothing could be more obliging to a crowned Head, eſpecially to him, who much more than any other Prince valued himſelf upon his Honour and Integrity; and beſides, would contribute much to the Succeſs of the great Enterprize they were jointly to go upon; becauſe by this means their common Deſign would be moſt dextrouſly concealed from the *Engliſh* Court, whom his Maſter, ſaid he, amuſed all this while with a ſham Alliance, and hopes of making Peace with you for them, *&c.* and ſo keeping them from arming

ing for their Defence, the Design will be executed with such surprizing Celerity on them, that they should sooner see the *Dutch* Fleet on their Coasts, and the *French* Troops on their Land, than hear of them. The Stratagem took, and the Instrument of the said Treaty was with all expedition sent ready signed by the said Faction, to the great *Monsieur*, who promised speedily to answer the Ceremony on his side. And now the *de Witts* and their Party were cock-a-hoop, and were already in hopes of sharing their Part in the projected Spoil and Division of the *English* Monarchy; when the more politick *Monsieur* having brought them into the Snare he had laid for them, instead of sending back and signing a Counter-change of the said League to them, sent it secretly to his Ambassador in *England*, with Orders privately to shew it to our King, that he might by that be convinced what advances the People he was so hard to be persuaded to wage War with, had made to attack him and his Kingdoms; as they had already insulted his Person, Honour, and Relations. And how affectionate his Master was to his Majesty, who was ready to depart from all the Advantages he might prudentially hope to reap by such an Alliance, in that disadvantageous Posture of the *British* Affairs, and rather inclined to join with his Malesty against those saucy *Republicans*, and sworn Enemies to all crowned Heads; ordering him withal, to tell him, that the Obstinacy he perceived in his Majesty, in refusing to vindicate his own, his Family's, and his Kingdom's Honour and Interest against them, had prevailed with them to push on a Treaty with them so far, as to get it by Address signed by them afore-hand; that he might have wherewithal to give his Majesty an undeniable Proof, both of their malicious and dangerous Intentions, and of his own sincere Inclination to his Majesty; and delude them into a Security that might hinder them from providing for any Defence by Land, against the Forces he had ready to pour in upon them; in case his Majesty would please, while it was yet time, to join with him. And further to add, that for his part he

he had not ſign'd it yet, but was ready to ſign one much rather with his Majeſty, and would on that condition ſo protract the time with dilatory Anſwers and Excuſes, that their preſent naval Preparations ſhould be eluded, and they attacked, when they leaſt expected; and when his Majeſty might have time enough to make ſufficient Proviſion, to ſecond him therein by Sea, to both their certain and glorious Advantage. And laſtly, ordering the ſaid Ambaſſador in the cloſe to tell his Majeſty roundly, that tho indeed he had carried on that ſham League for the Reaſons aforeſaid, *viz.* for the Intereſt of his *Britiſh* Majeſty, as well as his own, for the better convincing him of the Neceſſity, as well as Convenience of joining with him, and lulling the Enemy into that Security that was neceſſary to the Succeſs of the Arms of both Crowns; yet if after all theſe Steps, his Majeſty would ſtill perſiſt to be deaf to his own Intereſt, ſo viſibly and plainly made out to him; that truly his Maſter then would be forced to decline thoſe of his Majeſty, take new Meaſures conſonant to his own, and in a word, turn the ſham Alliance into a true one, by immediately ſigning and counterchanging it; and at the ſame Inſtant, joining with thoſe Enemies againſt him, without giving him time to make any tolerable Preparation, that might enable him to weather their firſt Attempts: for that it was his Maſter's undoubted Intereſt to keep great Forces on foot, and not to keep them idle. And that therefore if the King of *England* would not join with him, to employ them where he had moſt Inclination, and much Intereſt; he would be forced by Intereſt againſt his Inclination to employ them againſt him, being reſolved to employ them ſomewhere. And ſo the Ambaſſador concluded his Harangue, as I ſhall conclude this Letter, having been tedious, I am afraid, to your Lordſhip: and ſo remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt
Humble Servant

Paris, March 19.
1677. N.S.

L E

LETTER XXI.

King Charles II. *being at length brought over to a Compliance with the* French *Intrigues, and to make War upon the* Dutch; *the* French *Council make all the Alliances they can among the* German *Princes*, &c. *and where they could not prevail, uſe their Endeavours to perſuade to a Neutrality.*

My Lord,

HAving in my laſt to your Lordſhip, ſet forth the ſucceſſive Intrigues of *France*, to bring our King into their Intereſt, and to come to a Rupture with the *Dutch* States; their Artifices, eſpecially the laſt (as how could it chuſe, unleſs he had been indeed the Log he has been reſembled to) wrought ſo effectually with him, that he then, without any reluctancy, conſented to the *French* King's Overtures; and an Alliance was, tho very privately, concluded on, wherein were inſerted Articles for a projected Sharing of the States Dominions, already conquer'd by our Army, as we had been before by theirs: And now both Courts concert Meaſures to continue the Amuſement of the Enemy, and to gain ſome other Neighbours into a Concurrence or Neutrality. The *French* King after ſome demur, to gain time, and to finiſh his Intrigue in *England*, had no ſooner concluded it, but after his uſual way of Diſſimulation, ſent back the Inſtrument of the Treaty with *Holland* to the States; but with ſuch Additions and Amendments, as he knew would take up time to debate, though couched in moſt ſugar'd Words, and backed with large Promiſes of continuing and augmenting Friendſhip. And having in the

mean

mean time gain'd the Elector of *Cologn*, the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and ſome others on the *Rhine*, partly by Mony, and partly by deceitful Pretences, to join with them; they had alſo the Vanity to attempt (tho the very Thoughts of ſuch an Overture, were charged with inſuperable Difficulties) to delude the very *Spaniard*, if not into a Compliance, yet into a Neutrality with them, while their Forces ſhould be acting ſuch Tragedies as were intended in their view, and not without paſſing through their Country, they having ſuch Creatures and Factions in *Spain*, as they much confided in. But after all their Wheedles and Intrigues there, they found ſuch ſtrong Oppoſition made by the Queen Mother, who was a great Enemy to *France*, as gave them little grounds to hope for any great Succeſs in that Negotiation; ſo that they began to content themſelves with what they thought they were ſure of, *viz.* gaining of ſo much time, in keeping of Matters in ſuſpence, both in the *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Councils, who were naturally ſlow enough in their Deliberations, as might ſuffice them to accompliſh their Deſign upon *Holland*, before they could be in a readineſs to hinder the finiſhing Stroke; (if ſo be they ſhould declare for the States againſt them, as was to be ſuſpected they would) after which, ſecure of Succeſs, they concluded they ſhould be in a Condition to attack, rather than to expect the whole *Auſtrian* Force, though fortify'd with the Succours of all the reſt of Chriſtendom. My Lord, I am not at preſent furniſhed with the Topicks they went upon, to bring the *Spaniards* to a Compliance in this matter: But I hope I ſhall be able to give your Lordſhip a good account of them in my next, which ſhall be with the next conveniency; but in the mean time, I am,

My Lord,

Paris, April 15. 1677. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LET

LETTER XXII.

Coleman *being engaged in the* French *Intereſts, here follow the Topicks he went upon, to induce the* Spaniards *to a Neutrality in the War in* 1672.

My Lord,

THAT the *French* Miniſters are *Gens audax omnia perpeti*, is very manifeſt, by what I have written to your Lordſhip before; but to be ſo adventurous, as to form Topicks for the engaging thoſe in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, to favour their Deſigns, by deluding that Nation to a Neutrality, ſeems to be a Maſter-piece of their Policy, as well as Audacity. Having therefore gained Mr. *Coleman*, whom they judged of any other the moſt proper Inſtrument to carry on ſuch a Deſign, they formed the following Topicks for him, the better to help him to compaſs it; and he was to urge cloſely,

1. That tho his *Britannick* Majeſty had been by the intolerable Inſolencies, and baſe Outrages of the *Dutch* Nation, conſtrained and neceſſitated much againſt his Inclinations, to depart from ſo much of the Triple League, as concerned the *Hollanders*; yet he would not fail to retain ſtill his Inclinations to promote as much as lay in him, the chief Intent and Purport of it: which was in ſubſtance, to hinder the *French* from aggrandizing themſelves, to the diminution of their Neighbours; but more particularly to the prejudice of the Catholick King, during his Minority, provided he would ſtand Neuter.

2. That his Neutrality would be a firm Security to him, of what he yet poſſeſt in the *Netherlands*, by obviating,

viating, and taking clean away from the *French*, all manner of pretences to moleſt his Subjects.

3. That the deſtroying the *Hollanders*, who were baſe Rebels to him, (and whom it was as much ſcandalous as pernicious, for any Crown'd Head to ſuffer to flouriſh and proſper in Wealth and Greatneſs, as they had but too manifeſtly done, to the diminution of their Neighbours, and much leſs to abet) would be highly beneficial, and of manifold advantage to his Catholick Majeſty. For that the vaſt Trade of *Amſterdam*, and other great, populous and flouriſhing Towns in *Holland*, and the other Provinces, being ruined and depopulated; many of the Inhabitants, at leaſt all thoſe of the *Roman* Catholick Religion or Perſuaſion; a great many of the *Deiſts*, and other *Adiaphorites*, who were very indifferent and careleſs, whether they frequented any publick Worſhip at all, or no, but chiefly, and above all other things, adored Trade and Gold, with which the *Dutch* Territories ſwarmed above any other Nation, either on this, or the other ſide of the Hemiſphere; would, without all doubt, refugiate themſelves, as being neareſt, and moſt commodious for them, in the *Spaniſh* Territories and Provinces, eſpecially *Flanders*; and would quickly multiply and encreaſe in them, not only People, but Trade and Riches: from whence, encreaſe of Power and Strength, both by Sea and Land, would be a neceſſary and infallible Conſequence. And that then, the now almoſt abandoned City of *Antwerp*, once the moſt famous, and moſt flouriſhing City in Trade, of this part of *Europe*, ſhould have free Liberty to lay open her *Scheld* again, now damm'd up by the *Hollanders*; and recover her former Riches, Glory and Strength, as would neceſſarily all the other *Spaniſh* Cities, and trading Towns in that Country, in a proportionable degree, which would be a means to make *Spain* her ſelf become much more flouriſhing and populous.

4. That the Crown of *Spain* would by this means, have her Hands quite rid of the moſt troubleſome, as well as dangerous Rival, in Trade and Conqueſt in the

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4. That the Crown of *Spain* would by this means, have her Hands quite rid of the moſt troubleſome, as well as dangerous Rival, in Trade and Conqueſt in the

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East-Indies, of any other *European* Nation whatsoever: in which respect, neither *England* nor *France*, tho trading Nations, as being Monarchies, had not been, nor indeed could possibly be, or become so prejudicial to it. However, they might perhaps afterwards be fortified with new Accessions of Strength and Power; as that one single *Republick*, which, tho scarce of one Age's Growth, had yet already, to the amazement, as well as detriment of their Neighbour-Nations, and especially the Kingdom of *Spain*, and Territories belonging to it, monopolized into her own hands the advantageous and incredibly gainful Trades to the great Kingdoms of *China*, *Japan*, and many other Parts, both of the *East-Indian* and *African* Coasts; whither in former times, no other Nations in the World, besides those of *Spain* and *Portugal*, had any manner of access.

5. That the Power of that upstart *Republick* was already at that exorbitant Greatness and Grandure, that there was no possibility, either of humbling or depressing it, and much less of a total Subversion of it, by any other in *Christendom*, than the united Powers of the Kingdoms of *England* and *France*: and yet things were brought to that pass, that if timely care were not taken, to have the said *Republick* removed out of the way, or at least mortified to a very great degree; it must of necessity in a short time rise up, as old *Rome* did, to such a prodigious Strength, Power, Dominion and Grandure, that it would give Law to all the crown'd Heads in this part of the World; and perhaps at last devour them, since it well appeared, and was conspicuous to all that did not wilfully shut their Eyes, that by such little blows as the Kingdom of *England* alone was able to give them, in the late War, and Sea-Engagements they had with them, their Experience, numbers of Seamen, Power, Strength and Riches, were every day advanced and encreased, after the Respite of a small breathing time of Peace: And that consequently, if his *Catholick Majesty*, the King of *Spain*, or rather the *Queen Regent* and Ministers, as also his *Imperial Majesty*, should suffer themselves

ſelves to be over-ruled by ſuch a needleſs, as well as unſeaſonable Jealouſy, ſo far, as by their Interpoſition to obſtruct and hinder the now probable downfal of that uſurping and encroaching *Republick*; what could they expect and hope for in the Revolution of a few Years, but to ſee thoſe very People, whom, by their needleſs Sollicitude, they had ſaved from Deſtruction, be ſo adventurous, as to ſeize into their own hands, by way of retaliation for their Kindneſs, their precious Mines of Gold and Silver, in the Countries of *Peru* and *Mexico*; when it ſhould be quite out of the Power, either of the Kingdoms of *England* or *France*, or indeed both of them together, ſhould they find themſelves ſo diſpoſed, to prevent their inevitable Loſs? Which would be not only a moſt pernicious Blow, but, as might very well be feared, even a deadly one to the illuſtrious Houſe of *Auſtria*, as well as a very ſenſible one to all the other Princes and States of *Chriſtendom*. And therefore it could not but be a matter even of high Importance, and greatly for the Intereſt and Benefit of his *Catholick Majeſty* and his Subjects in general, for him to reſolve to remain and continue Neuter, in this War that was to commence ſhortly againſt the united *Dutch Provinces*, and to connive at, and give way to the Succeſs of the *French* and *Engliſh* Nations; ſince it was evidently as neceſſary and requiſite, for the Safety and Grandure of the Kingdom of *Spain*, *ut deleatur iſta Carthago*, as it was for that of *England* and *France*: from whom a mutual Jealouſy, which, as it ever was, could not but be ſtill continued, would ſufficiently ſecure *Spain* to all future Ages, from offering any ſuch Violence, or making any ſuch attempts on their Golden and Silver *Weſt-Indies*, as would certainly, as well as unavoidably, be made in leſs than half an Age upon them, by the *Republick* of *Holland*, if his *Catholick Majeſty*, the Emperor, and his other Allies, ſhould ſtand ſo far in their own Light, and become guilty of ſo much Imprudence, which could hardly be thought of them, as to give any diverſion unto, or otherwiſe interrupt the only Powers

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in *Christendom*, that were able to prevent that Disaster, and render it quite of none Effect.

6. That his Most Christian Majesty *Lewis* the XIVth of *France* had solemnly engaged to his *Britannick* Majesty the King of *England*, that upon the Condition of a Neutrality agreed by *Spain*, he was willing to relinquish all Pretensions to the remainder of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and all the other Dominions of *Spain*, and to get that same Renunciation signed and ratified by the *Dauphin* his Son, as well as by himself: and to leave no room for any future Jealousies, even by the consent and approbation of the three Estates of his Kingdom, whom he would take care to assemble for that very end and purpose, as also by the Parliament of *Paris*; that so all occasions and pretences of any future War between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* might be entirely and totally cut off by this one amicable and advantageous Concession: Nay, and that rather than fail in this particular, his *Most Christian Majesty* would be brought to re-deliver to the *Catholick* King, even all the Towns, Cities and Territories taken from him by *France* in the last War, and keep strictly to the other, as well as the *Pyrenean* Treaty; which was as much as the *Spaniards* could wish for themselves, or had upon any occasion insisted upon.

7. That the *French* King would be punctual to give such strict Orders to his Troops and Armies, that in all their Marches through the Countries belonging to the King of *Spain*, they should be so far from being injurious and burdensom to the respective Inhabitants of them, that they should receive very great benefit and advantage from them, by their exact and liberal paying for whatever they had of them; and that he would afterward leave such a firm Barrier on all sides the Country, as should for ever secure them from all Apprehensions of Encroachments from *France* or any other neighbouring Nation whatsoever: and that by this means the *Spanish* Territories would remain very fertile, and be filled with Mony and all sorts of rich Commodities, whilst the

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United Provinces would be run down, and never be in a condition to moleſt or annoy them more; and what Advantage and Security that would be to them, they themſelves could tell, and a remembrance of former Experiences in that kind, muſt needs corroborate and add ſtrength to the ſame.

8. That there was no juſt cauſe of Jealouſy to be entertained, or any great Reaſon to fear the growing Greatneſs of the Kingdom of *France* upon ſuch an occaſion; for that the acceſſion of ſtrength, which by ſuch means might in ſome degree happen to her, would be much more than ballanced by that which would accrue to *England*; by which his *Britannick* Majeſty would become a much more powerful aſſiſtant to *Spain* and the *Spaniſh* Territories, againſt any Violations of Treaties that might afterward upon any account whatſoever happen to be offered by the *French*, than he could be at this juncture of time, even tho joined with the *Republick* of *Holland*; and yet rid the *Catholick* King even at the ſame time of ſuch a diſhonourable as well as dangerous Ally as *Holland* was at preſent, and which would certainly prove within a ſmall Revolution of Years a deſtructive Enemy alſo, if they were not now in this favourable nick of time obſtructed and throughly prevented.

9. That the King of *Swedeland*, who was the other crown'd Head that had engaged himſelf in the Triple Alliance for the protection and ſecurity of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, was likewiſe of the ſame Mind and Diſpoſition to remain Neuter in the preſent Caſe, unleſs he were provoked to join with the *French* and *Engliſh*: But that however he would at the ſame time join and ſincerely concur with his *Britannick* Majeſty for the Guaranty of this deſired and uſeful Neutrality with *France*; that both Kings would be ready to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive, with the Crown of *Spain*, to aſſiſt the ſame with their full Force and whole Power, againſt any manner of Infractions that ſhould happen to be made, or fall out againſt this or any other former

mer Treaty or Treaties on the part of *France* whatsoever.

10. And Lastly, That the *French* King was ready and willing to accept their Guaranty; and not only so, but freely to permit the Emperor of *Germany*, and other of the *German* Princes, that could be brought to stand Neuters, and were willing to enter into the same, to be made Partners therein; that all the World, as well as the Council of *Spain* might be convinced, beyond all suspicions to the contrary, of his Most Christian Majesty's, as well as the King of *England*'s sincerity in that matter.

These, my Lord, were the Instructions Mr. *Coleman* had, and the Topicks he was to go upon for the carrying on this pretty Design; but how far he put the same in practice, I could never learn: 'Tis certain he was not the only Engine they imploy'd for that purpose, they had their Agents in *Spain* it self, who did their utmost to effect this Neutrality, of which I may be able to give your Lordship an account another time. In the mean while I am,

My Lord,

Paris, July 24. 1677. N. S.

Your Lordship's most Humble and most Obedient Servant.

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

A farther Argument used at the Court of Spain *by the* French *Agents, to persuade that Nation to a Neutrality.*

My Lord,

TO the Topicks used by Mr. *Coleman* and other *French* Emissaries, of which I have given your Lordship an account already, to persuade the *Spaniards* to a Neutrality, they judged fit to superadd another, to be more particularly and closely insisted upon at the Court of *Spain* it self, alledging that the Ruin of the *Republick* of *Holland* was very necessary, as upon other accounts, so more especially in that thereby the King of *England*, who was so well inclined to the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and only wanted an opportunity to declare for it, and to have the Glory to establish it in his Dominions, which had now for above an Age and half groaned under the burden of a pestilent Heresy, would become so much master of his Subjects, that he would be in a condition, without any danger to himself and the Royal Family, to introduce the same *Roman Catholick Religion* into his Kingdoms again: which great and glorious, as well as meritorious Work, the *Catholick* King, and those who had the Administration of his Dominions, ought to have at heart above all other Interests and Considerations whatsoever; especially since this would enable the Crown of *England* to do *Spain* many good and friendly Offices in the Court of *Rome* as well as elsewhere, and be a means to ballance the *French* Faction there, when they should take upon them, as they frequently did, to oppose the Interests and Advantages of the House of *Austria*, as *Henry* the VIIIth

and other Kings of *England* had formerly done before the Schiſm broke out, and their Kingdom came to be overſpread with Hereſy. But you know, my Lord, the effect this and the former bait and flouriſhes have had; for *Spain*, after ſome ſhort diſſimulation to gain time, declared for *Holland*, on whoſe fate they well foreſaw that of their *Netherlands*, and the whole Fortune of the Houſe of *Auſtria* depended. In which Reſolutions, notwithſtanding all the Artifices uſed to the contrary, they were ſeconded by the Emperor, who then had his Arms looſe, and by ſome other Princes on that ſide; whom tho they fail'd to hinder entring into an Alliance for the defence of *Holland*, yet they have met ſince with too much ſucceſs in rendring their Conjunction as little hurtful to them as might be, and of which I may in time be able to give your Lordſhip the Particulars: who am,

Paris, Auguſt 5. 1677. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LETTER XXIV.

Of the ſhutting up of the Exchequer by King Charles II. *in* January 167½.

My Lord,

I Need make no repetition to your Lordſhip of what the *French* have done by Foreign Alliances in *Germany*; by engaging our King to conſent to the ſecond War againſt the *Dutch*; and the Topicks they went upon to perſuade others, whom they had reaſon to fear would concern themſelves in the Quarrel when they ſaw their Neighbours Houſe ſet on fire, to a Neutrality in the caſe; and more particularly the *Spaniards*: of which Tranſactions I have not long ſince ſent your Lordſhip

the

the particulars. But whatever was done abroad by them for the ruining of the *Dutch* Republick, they were no leſs induſtrious in our Nation to put the King (who God knows was but too ſuſceptible of their Charms) upon ſuch methods as would bankrupt his Reputation with his own Subjects, and ſo become an entire Dependant upon them for his ſupport. Two things they had more eſpecially in view for the accompliſhment hereof; the one was, that he ſhould ſhut up the *Exchequer*, under the pretence of the abſolute neceſſity of it, for want of Mony to bear up the Port the Nation ought at that time to make in the World, when their Neighbours were in ſo formidable a Poſture: but they knew well enough, and could not but foreſee (as I find they have noted it) that he would by ſuch a ſurprizing and unparallel'd Act loſe all his Credit for ever of borrowing Mony again, otherwiſe than on the branches of his Revenue, or Acts of Parliament; and would deter the Parliament from venturing to be ſo profuſe and liberal as they had formerly been to him, any more for the time to come, upon ever ſo preſſing occaſions: at leaſt without binding his Hands, and reſerving to themſelves the care of laying out as well as raiſing any Monies to be given to him. And what could the Conſequence thereof be, but that he muſt be reduced either of being treated as an Underling or a *Doge* (which they took eſpecial care to infuſe into his Head) by his Parliaments; or which they aimed at chiefly, to do the *French* King's Drudgery, to have Mony to maintain his Pleaſures, and keep up his Dignity and Authority againſt any attempts, which the Jealouſies cauſed by the faults he had too unwarily been inſnared into by his falſe Friends on this ſide, might ſo ſtrongly influence moſt Orders of Men in one degree or other unto, throughout his Kingdoms, againſt it, and which he might eaſily be induced to chuſe; preferring rather to be a Penſioner, and at the beck of a Foreigner, than at the courteſy of his own Subjects, who have never refuſed to ſupport him in what tended to his real Intereſt and Honour, upon any moderate proſpect of

ſecurity for it? But things did not end here. The other deſign of theirs was not only in view, but cloſe at the heels, of granting a Toleration of Religion by virtue of his Prerogative Royal, of which your Lordſhip will hear more in my next; in the mean time I am,

Paris, Sept. 12. 1677. N. S.

My Lord,
Your very Humble Servant.

LETTER XXV.

Of Liberty of Conſcience granted by King Charles II. *in the Year* 167½. *how and to what ends attained.*

My Lord,

IT was not enough for this Court to engage the King to conſent to a ſecond War with the *Dutch*, and ſhutting up the *Exchequer* purely to ſerve their Intereſt and Deſigns; but they muſt put him upon another piece of State-Drudgery, which at the ſame time, I am well ſatisfied, he was not of himſelf much averſe to: and that was the Declaration of Indulgence to tender Conſciences, as they have been pleaſed to cant it. They knew well enough what ſevere Laws were in force againſt all thoſe that diſſented from the publick Church, and ſome of them freſh enough in Memory not to be ſoon forgotten; and they knew full as well, that both the Popiſh and Presbyterianly affected Perſons, as well as the Prerogative and Republican Party who then began to revive, that were about the King, would greedily promote it, or at leaſtwiſe ſome of all the mentioned ſorts, as a means whereby to attain to the ends aimed at by thoſe different Factions. Theſe the *Monſieurs* took care to influence in their ſeveral ways, ſo as to ſpur up the King not

to delay the granting of it; but whatever the ſeveral Parties ends were in the obtaining of ſuch a Grant, the intent of *France* was chiefly to divide us, and ſo make ſure of the other event of their other Meaſures: for they concluded then, had the King gained that point without diſpute, and the People ſuffered that diſpenſing with the Laws to paſs tamely and without any interrogating about it, for an inherent Prerogative of the *Engliſh* Crown; that he would be able to keep a firmer Alliance with them, and aſſiſt them in all their Deſigns without controul with his Arms, and that he ſhould at long run be eaſily perſuaded to receive twenty or thirty Thouſand Auxiliaries to ſecure his new acquired Authority, in that and other Uſurpations they intended to put him upon both in Civil and Religious Matters, in lieu of the *Britiſh* Forces he ſhould furniſh the *French* King with: or if he ſhould happen to be ſo weak as to yield up that important piece of Royalty to the Parliament; that ſtill by ſuch a diminution of Power, he would in time by their preſſing more and more upon him, as they had contrived in that caſe they ſhould, be ſtill neceſſitated in his extremity to have recourſe to their help againſt the popular Waves, which when their State-*Eolus's* had blown enough to a ſufficient high Sea, they deſigned to aſſiſt him to aſſuage, for fear elſe of giving place to the ſecond Reſurrection of that terrible *Monſter* called a *Commonwealth*; which they dreaded more than any thing that could have happened in this Weſtern World: the memory of what a Terror that late *Monſter* in our Iſles had been to them, as well as to the reſt of their Neighbour-Nations, being yet too freſh to have been forgotten by them. Thus did theſe State-Empiricks drench us, and brought our Nation under ſuch Convulſions, that without the help of kind Heaven, muſt end in a total Diſſolution: *Sed futura neſcimus.* I am,

My Lord,
Your Conſtant
and Faithful Servant.

Paris, Decemb. 16.
1677. N. S.

LETTER XXVI.

The Opinion of the French *Court concerning the five Persons that made up the Cabal in* England, *in the Year* 167½.

My Lord,

THE Ministers of this Court are not only the most inquisitive Persons in the World into the Affairs of other Courts, but even into the Persons that manage them; whose Natures, Dispositions, Religion, natural and acquired Abilities, as well as respective Infirmities, they endeavour to sift out to the quick, that so they may use them or shun them as they find occasion: and for this reason it is, that they make some Remarks upon them in their Minutes, as well as upon the Affairs transacted by them. And therefore since the Five Persons who made up the Cabal in *England* a few Years ago, and who your Lordship may remember were the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Lauderdale*, the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington*, and the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, were very distinguishable for the Stations they were in, the Offices they held, and the Parts each of them acted in the Government; I find this Character given of them: For the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he was the King's Favourite, so he really deserved to be so, as being very capable to be a Minister of State, if his application to Business had been answerable to his Talents; if his Mind, which was furnished with excellent Endowments, had not been distracted with *Libertinism*, which was in him to an extreme degree; and by a love to his Pleasures, which made one of those Persons in the World that was fitteſt for great and solid things, vain and frivolous. Of the Duke of *Lauderdale* there is little or nothing said,

but

but that he is a great and quaint Politician, and no queſtion but he has merited that Character at their hand. Of my Lord *Clifford* they are as profuſe in their Praiſes, as I doubt they have been too of their Mony; ſaying, he was a Perſon who wanted nothing but a Theatre, where Vertue and Reaſon had been much more in uſe than it was in his Country in the Age wherein he lived, for to be ſuperior to and overtop the reſt. My Lord of *Arlington* they make to be a Perſon of a meaner Capacity, and a more limited Genius than any of the Five, but ſay his Experiences ſupply the Defect, and have acquired him eſpecially a very great knowledge of Foreign Affairs. Laſt of all, they bring in *Anthony Aſhly-Cooper*, the Renowned Earl of *Shaftsbury*; of whom they ſay, he was by far the fitter Perſon of any of them to manage a great Enterprize, and ſo was as the Soul to all the reſt, being endued with a vaſt Capacity, clear Judgment, bold Nature, and ſubtil Wit; equally firm and conſtant in all he undertook; a conſtant Friend, but an implacable Enemy: with many other Expreſſions, ſuch as his not being terrified either with the greatneſs or the multitude of Crimes he judges neceſſary for his own Preſervation, or the deſtruction of others, much to his Lordſhip's Diſhonour: which is a clear Argument he was not for their Intereſt, and for which he is much beholden to them. Your Lordſhip will pardon the freedom I take with You, and accept of the ſincere endeavours to ſerve you, of,

My Lord,

Paris, Jan. 12.
1678. N. S.

Your Honour's moſt Humble

and moſt Obedient Servant.

LETTER XXVII.

Of the Methods practised by the French *Ministers to corrupt our Ambassadors.*

My Lord,

HAving given your Lordship some account of the opinion the *French* Court have had of some of our Statesmen, it may be it will not be unacceptable to recount to your Honour in this place some of those ways they have taken here to corrupt and pervert our Ambassadors. And I can boldly affirm that there has been hardly any one Ambassador sent from our Court hither, since the Restoration, whom they have not endeavoured to corrupt, and to get into a private Intrigue to traverse not only what he was to negotiate, but even something of what themselves prest on our Princes by their own private Agents; and on some of whom (I have named one to your Lordship formerly) they have made very great Impressions, to our Nation's detriment: for Matters of main Consequence were treated of by private Ministers or Messengers between both Kings, which were not so much as mention'd to the Ambassadors sent in publick; who have been on our side sent only for Parade, to negotiate many times things, whereof the contrary had been most commonly agreed upon, especially in private, only to blind by that piece of Formality the Eyes of our Subjects at home, and of our Neighbours abroad; or else to treat about Matters of mere Compliment, or of but ordinary concern. And tho what has been privately treated on between the two Kings, or but only propos'd, was of great concern to be kept secret; and that for that very Reason, they knew our Ambassadors were not

made

made acquainted with it: yet such has been their Malice and Treachery to our King and Country, as to discover to our Ambassadors or Envoys and their Secretaries, such parts thereof as they have thought, being once known to them, would be most proper and effectual to induce our Ministers to enter into a particular Cabal with them for by-ends, and many times to affirm things more invidious than ordinary to have been agreed upon between both Courts, which were only proposed. Which kind of Communication of theirs had a very powerful Influence, by the Curiosity that is natural to all Mankind to work upon our Ministers to entertain such a Correspondence with them, to the Dishonour and Detriment of their King and Country: for they have told them sometimes, that not only the Points proposed by the Dutchess of *Orleans*, but other things of as bad and dangerous consequence to the Subjects and Religion in *England*, were absolutely concluded on between both Crowns unknown unto them; and that our King and Duke of *York* had taken such and such Measures to put themselves into a condition to do what they pleased; and that the King their Master was willing to flatter them in such hopes, and feed them with a little Mony, to keep them from taking part with his Enemies; yet that truly at the bottom he had no such Zeal for Religion, nor for the Pope of *Rome*, as he had not for the King of *England*'s over-great Power and Absoluteness in Rule, being things which could not but be prejudicial and very incompatible with his own Greatness; and therefore he should not fail underhand to favour the People of *England* in supporting their Liberties and Rights, and defending their Religion, and confining the Kingly or Regal Power to its own due Limits. And therefore if they, *viz.* our Envoys or Ministers, would serve him in that design, they might assure themselves they should be well gratify'd for their Compliance: that there was no occasion to scruple it, since they knew well enough that our Government was but a qualify'd Monarchy, wherein

the Subject owed rather more Allegiance to their Country than they did to their Prince. And that since their King went about to deal so unfairly and injuriously with their Country, as to enter into Leagues and Treaties, and that underhand, with a Foreign Prince, contrary to their true Interest, and deceived his Ambassadors by transacting things different from, and opposite to what they had received in their Instructions; and trusted not his own Ministers, but only Foreigners with his main Secrets of State: it could not be thought any great Infidelity in them to deceive such a Prince, and to enter into private Intrigues against such Designs as were pernicious and destructive to their Country; and would be so to the Prince himself, if not prevented in time: with a great deal more Matter still more invidious than that, to the same purpose.

Such Methods as these, my Lord, I find in the Minutes of the Instructions prescribed from time to time, to those who are imploy'd to converse with our *English* Ambassadors or Envoys; and After-notes do also remark they had Success enough with some of them, whom your Lordship may so well guess at, that I need not name them. However this opinion they entertained of most of the *English* whom they gained into the Intrigue, except it were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and one or two more, that they served them with the same mind, with which they imploy'd them: for this was and is still an usual Saying with them, *We imploy'd them not for any Love we have had to them, or any Good we intended them; but only for the Interest and Advantage of our own King, and the Dishonour and Disadvantage of theirs.* So they, as we believe and have by experience found by most, served us not for any love to our Interest, but to our Mony, and with intent to make what we intended for the Disservice of their Country turn in the end for the Good and Benefit of it; or at least to the Factions and Persuasions they themselves were of. I could inlarge much more upon

upon this Head, but I have been already tedious; and therefore I must conclude, and remain,

My Lord,

Paris, March 19. 1678. N. S.

Your Lordship's most Devoted and Humble Servant.

LETTER XXVIII.

Of the French *Resolutions to elude any Advantage the* English *might receive by the War.*

My Lord,

HAving already given your Lordship an account how our King was brought into the Alliance with *France*, and to engage in a second *Dutch* War; I shall now proceed to set forth the Insincerity of the *French* Friendship, and how little Benefit our King was to reap thereby, in case of Success; and the Methods they had to elude him. Tho their chief Design was to destroy *Holland*, yet they intended *England* should reap no Benefit thereby, but rather decrease and truckle under them: for that they meant nothing less than the real Performance to our King, of his Share in the projected Division of the Enemies Country, as if it had been their Motto, *Pereat Hollandus, nec non subsidat Anglus.* And therefore they so resolved to carry things on by Sea, as that they seem'd to be rather unconcern'd Spectators, than Actors for us in any of the Engagements; tho your Lordship well knows, that afterward, when they were left alone with the War, they could fight well enough to defeat the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Fleets in the

Med.

Mediterranean, and bereave that State of their famous Admiral *de Ruyter*, which was more than ever we, in all our Combats with him, could effect. For as if the *French* Dealing had been a Graft of old *Punick Faith*, they treated us more like perfidious *Africans*, than generous *Romans*; giving not only private Orders to the Commanders of their naval Forces, whom they ſhould ſend us at Sea, to avoid as much as was poſſible any effectual Fighting for us, but only to obſerve and learn what Improvements they could from us, both as to our manner of Fighting, and the Situation of our Harbours; and in the main to approve themſelves, not only as Cyphers, but as broken Reeds to us, who were in expectation of great things from them. And this evidently appear'd afterward by their Conduct towards Captain *Martel*, who for falling in bravely with us againſt the *Dutch*, was firſt ſoundly checked, and then diſgracefully caſhier'd for his Honeſty and Bravery. And as their Inſtructions by Sea, to their Officers, was to play the *legerdemain* with us in this manner; they gave the like Inſtructions to their Land-Commanders on the *Holland* ſide: and particularly, tho it had been concerted between both Courts, that whilſt we ſhould attack *Zeeland*, which was the Province allotted to our ſhare, their General in the *Low Countrys* ſhould divert all Relief from it, by a great and ſudden Irruption into their other Provinces, which in the Conſternation they then muſt needs be put to, he might moſt effectually do: yet not only their Minutes, but the Event clearly ſhewed it was the leaſt of their Thoughts, we ſhould have a foot of Ground for our Share on that ſide. For you may very well remember, that when our Army was afterward actually embarked for that Enterprize, in which in all probability, had he done his part, they had ſucceeded; yet in that critical Moment wherein he ſhould have acted according to the Leſſon given him, he did upon ſome frivolous Pretences neglect the ſame, and ſo fruſtrated that Expedition; which obliged our Forces, with no ſmall Confuſion, to return back, and land without attempting

any

any thing. It's moſt certain, my Lord, and by their Minutes it doth appear, that they had concerted before hand, in caſe they met with any powerful Reſiſtance by Land, that then their Auxiliary Squadron at Sea ſhould act in earneſt with us, and vigorouſly ſecond us in humbling the Enemy; but if they made any conſiderable Conqueſt in the *Dutch* Territories, which, as they had laid their Meaſures, they ſuppoſed they could not fail of, then they were to obſerve the Cautions ſince practiſed by them: for that their Intereſt required no further, than that we ſhould with as much damage to our ſelves, as might be without advantage to the *Hollanders*, divert and debilitate their Force; but to ſuffer us to be abſolute Maſters of the Seas, or of but one Maritime Place on the *Belgick* Shore, was too great an Error in Policy for them to commit. But in caſe there were an appearance, that our Fleet, notwithſtanding their baſe Prevarications, ſhould maſter that of the *Dutch*; and that at the ſame time their Armies by Land made progreſs in the Conqueſt they thought themſelves ſure of, then they ſhould by their Emiſſaries, both in our Court and Country, ſow Jealouſies; but more eſpecially to propagate a ſtrong Suſpicion of the Duke's having embraced the *Roman* Religion, which they were ſure would work the ſame, if not a greater Effect, than the publick certain Knowledg of it could do: for it would cauſe ſuch Factions and Diviſions therein, and ſuch an Averſion to that Prince, that he ſhould be forced to yield up his Command into other hands, and to alienate them from the Quarrel; that it would moſt effectually hinder the *Engliſh* Succeſs from paſſing the Bounds they intended them. And hence would ariſe ſuch a Diſreputation to the King, and ſuch a Diſſatisfaction in the People in general, as ſhould conjure up ſuch deviliſh Factions, as with all the Art he had, he ſhould never be able to lay quiet enough to leave him at liberty to act any thing conſiderable againſt the *French* Intereſt, in caſe he ſhould attempt that way to regain his Subjects Confidence and Eſteem; and conſequently would deter

him

him from the very thoughts of diſobliging ſuch a Friend, and quitting ſuch Alliance, of ſo near, ſo preſent, and of ſo potent a Protector, as the *French* King had made himſelf paſs with our deluded Prince, againſt the ſo much dreaded Practices of the *Republicans*; which thoſe Emiſſaries ſtill took care, tho covertly, to repreſent in the frightfulleſt Colours, their moſt romantick Inventions could ſupply them. And ſo, with my humbleſt Reſpects to your Lordſhip, concludes,

My Lord,

Paris, March 31. 1678. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER XXIX.

Of the Succeſs of the French *Arms againſt the* United Provinces, *in the Year* 1672. *Their further Reſolves to elude us, and their Wheedles to induce the* Amſterdamers *to yield.*

My Lord,

THE States being at length rouſed up out of their ſleepy Security, and beginning to dread, that notwithſtanding all the *French* Wheedles and Deluſions, thoſe vaſt Preparations by Land, and the lazy Movements of their Armies boded no Good to them; did by their Ambaſſador at *Paris*, who was a Son of *Hugo Grotius*, offer the *French* King all the Satisfaction imaginable: but that haughty Monarch had concerted his Meaſures ſo well, and thought himſelf now ſo ſure of his Game, that

that all their Offers were laugh'd at. Your Lordſhip knows well enough, what a buſtle was made in *England*, by ſummoning of the *Eaſt-India* Company to give an account of the Inſults of the *Dutch* upon their Factories, ſince the Peace at *Breda*, (who anſwer'd, and gave it under their hands, that they knew of none) and ſuch other Stuff as that was; yet the *French* King did not think fit to trouble his Brains with any ſuch Pretenſions. But his chief Motive to undertake this War was, that that State did eclipſe his Glory, and muſt be humbled, *&c.* and accordingly gave his Armies orders to enter the *Dutch* Territories. I need not recite to your Lordſhip, the Succeſs he met with in his Enterprize, and how like a Torrent he carried all before him; how *Rhinberg*, *Doſſery*, *Dorecum*, *Rees*, *Weſel*, *Emerick*, *Doesburg*, *Tureſume*, *Nimeguen*, *Swoll*, *Daventer*, *Grave*, *Arnheim*, *Skinenſcon*, *Creveceer*, fell quickly into his hands, and *Coventer* to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, his Confederate: and the greedy *Monſieur* now began with an amorous Eye to look upon *Amſterdam*, which he did not queſtion but to be ſpeedily Maſter of, and it was the leaſt of his Intention to allow our King any Share or Part of the Repartition before concerted between them. And tho it were privately ſuggeſted unto him, by a grave Miniſter that attended him, that if he proceeded any further, he doubted his Conduct would be contrary to his Intereſt, as tending, how much ſoever he doated on their Friendſhip, to alienate the King of *England*'s Affections from them by degrees, and convert the Confidence he had in their Sincerity, into utmoſt Deteſtation; eſpecially the main Charms, being by the Death of his principal *Charmereſs*, his late lovely and beloved Siſter, in a manner diſſolved. And tho he ſhould be over-awed by other Conſiderations, as to ſmother his Reſentments; yet it would ſo loudly awaken the Old Averſion of our Nation againſt them, that far from being able to continue much longer in League with them, it would be impoſſible for him, during ſuch a Juncture, and under ſuch Provocations, to contain his irritated Subjects

jects within the Bounds of a ſtupid Neutrality, or reſtrain their Fury from recoiling upon himſelf and the Royal Family any other way, than by letting them looſe upon the *French*, and ſuffering of them to wreak their Revenge and long curbed Inclination, in an open and vigorous War on their old Adverſaries, to oblige them to regorge thoſe delicate Morſels, of which they had ſo perfidiouſly and unfairly defrauded them of their ſtipulated Share, whilſt their Allies and Confederates. Yet, my Lord, Exceſs of Proſperity had ſo blinded the *French* King, that like the Emperor *Charles* V. of *Auſtria*, when he had taken *Francis* I. then King of *France*, Priſoner at the Battle of *Pavia*, he fancy'd they had all the World now in a ſtring; and had partly already provided, and partly concerted ſuch excellent Salves againſt all Inconveniences of that kind; that as ſecure againſt all Contingences, or the jadiſh Tricks of Fortune, whom they imagined to be now faſtned with too ſtrong and well contrived Harneſs to their triumphant Chariot, to kick againſt her Drivers, much leſs break their Reins; they thought they might uncontroulably play what Tricks they would with the *Engliſh*; tho to flatter us with the hopes of our Repartition would be neceſſary yet for a time, as it would be eaſy, after the Reduction of *Amſterdam*, and the intire Conqueſt of thoſe Countrys, both by ſpecious Arguments, to juſtify againſt our precarious Plea, their intended Retention of the whole to themſelves, and to back their Uſurpations by force, when once in poſſeſſion: as did the Lion in the Fable to the Beaſts, who on the plauſible Condition of being allowed an equitable Share, had enter'd into a Confederacy of hunting with his *Britiſh* Majeſty; but he, when all was done, making himſelf to be Judg and Sharer, had, upon *alamode* Pretences, the *Britiſh* Conſcience to take, and by force to keep all from them. And accordingly the *French*, when they found that on their ſide Victory advanced not on Tortoiſe Claws, but Eagles Wings, and ſaw themſelves, before either Neighbours or Allies were aware, Maſters of the beſt part of the Territories

of

of that diſtreſſed State, and with their Swords in their Hands, point almoſt to the Vitals of it; as they were moſt ſurprizingly active, in taking all they could for themſelves, moſt liberal in allotting our Auxiliaries in their Armies, their full Share in the Fatigues of the War, moſt falſe to the Faith of our mutual League, by declining in their turn to ſecond thoſe Advances we were ready to make towards the like Succeſs; and in fine, moſt perfidiouſly buſy in caſting Rubs in our way, as I have before hinted to your Lordſhip, to balk, and im-planting thoſe Lights to miſguide and ſhipwrack our Deſigns: So by their Conduct, as well as Minutes, it did appear, that they intended not to ſtop there, but that after thoſe ſtupendous Progreſſes that favour'd their Beginnings, it was reſolved by them, to puſh on their Conqueſt to the utmoſt, without demurring upon any Points or Scruples relating to us, even into thoſe Parts belonging to our Repartition; and eſpecially to ſeize on *Amſterdam* it ſelf, if poſſible, before we could reflect on, and much leſs oppoſe ſo ſudden an Exploit. Which Capture alone, they not without Reaſon thought, would be ſucceeded with a voluntary Ceſſion of all the remaining Places and Provinces, and with the Acceſſion of the moſt part of the Fleets, Merchants, and Colonies of that potent *Republick*, who would not fail to conceive, partly for fear of loſing otherwiſe their whole Properties in the Monys and Effects left by them, in that great Magazine of both Hemiſpheres; and partly to enjoy the pretended Liberties and Immunities, mighty Privileges, and other prodigious Advantages, with which their Agents, contrary to their League with us, had already privately tempted, and had Inſtructions further to allure thoſe induſtrious and thriving People with to come over perfectly to them, and decline us: Againſt whom their Emiſſaries employ'd ſo many Arts to exaſperate thoſe People; that tho both Enemies, and the *French* much more formidable than we, to what by them, and all free-born People, was moſt prizable, *viz.* Liberty, Property, and Religion; yet the *Engliſh* was at that time

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the more hated Name of the two, to their depraved Apprehenſion.

And as for our King, they reckoned him ſo enchanted with the Opinion, both of the Neceſſity and Integrity of their Friendſhip to him, and ſo intent in that confidence on his beloved Pleaſures, with another She-Magician of theirs newly ſent him for that purpoſe, temper'd with the moſt intoxicating Venom, known to Female Arts, that they never thought he could have any ſenſe at liberty, to mind what they did: and therefore knowing on the other ſide, there could arrive no diſturbance time enough from the Empire, to ſpoil their Game, it thundring from thence yet but afar off, they were moving with all greedineſs their Harpy-Talons, to ſeize on this important Prey: And had without all doubt, attained their purpoſe in the ſtrange and panick Terror, that at that time ſeemed to diſable the Hands, and lock up the Senſes, of the otherwiſe courageous and politick Inhabitants of that famous *Emporium*, had not Divine Providence juſt in that Moment, by two moſt unlikely Accidents, but yet moſt effectual Expedients, interpos'd between them and Deſtruction; of which I may give your Lordſhip ſome Hints in my next: who am, in the mean time,

My Lord,

Paris, April 29.
1678. N. S.

Your Honour's moſt

Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER XXX.

Of the maſſacring the De Witts, *the Revolution in* Holland, *and the Reſtitution of the Prince of* Orange *to all the Authority of his Anceſtors; with Offers made him by the* French *King, of the Sovereignty of the* United Provinces, *and his Rejection of them.*

My Lord,

IN my laſt to your Lordſhip, I gave you ſome account of the Progreſs of the *French* Army, in their Conqueſt of the *United Provinces*; the Reſolutions they had taken, both to elude the Crown of *England* of receiving any Benefit by the War, to puſh on their own Conqueſts, and Wheedles to induce the City of *Amſterdam* to yield to them: And I have moreover hinted to your Lordſhip, that there fell out two unexpected Accidents at that time, which put a full ſtop to their Arms; the firſt whereof, I ſhall briefly run over to your Lordſhip; for while the *French* Armies were ready to ſeize that important Place, and that every individual Perſon was in that Conſternation, that they only thought of ſaving their own Families, without otherwiſe concerning themſelves about the Intereſt of their Country; nay, and that without ſtaying for the *French* King's ſending a Summons for the Town to yield, a Council was held in the City, whether they ſhould not go out to meet him, to deſire he would be pleaſed to take it into his Protection, as well as all the Inhabitants thereof; there was very great Danger of their coming to this Reſolution,

tion, when the Divine Providence wonderfully appear'd, by inſpiring a courageous Citizen, though till then no very remarkable one neither, whoſe Name (and perhaps your Lordſhip ne'er heard it before) was *Offe*, and ought certainly to be conſecrated to Poſterity, ſo as never to be left out of the Annals of time; and who was immediately ſeconded by another, called *Haſſenaer*, to ſtand up alone in the dreadful Gap, and with a Voice like a Trumpet, to awaken his diſpirited Countrymen out of the Lethargy of black Deſpondency, with which the cowardly tyrant Fear had bound up both their Limbs and Intellectuals; and to excite them, as the poor Geeſe formerly did the drowſy *Romans*, at leaſt to make ſome Defence for that Capitol, and Capital of the *Batavian* Commonwealth, and not raſhly to deliver up that great *Palladium*, *viz.* The vaſt Bank of Riches therein, on which ſeemed to depend the Fate of *Europe*, into the Land of a Prince, who wanted only Manacles from thence to enfetter her; and whoſe Courage to attack (ſaid the ſame Citizen, and I have heard the *French*-men themſelves mention his Name with many *Elogiums*) depended ſolely on the Fears, which the Artifices of his treacherous Correſpondents within their Walls, more than the Noiſe of his Armies, had raiſed among them; and conſequently on the leaſt Shew of Unity and Reſolution among them, would ſink with their Cauſe. Nay, continued he, rather than fall into the hands of him, who (however his Emiſſaries here have repreſented him ſlily to the contrary) will aſſuredly prove a mercileſs Tyrant unto us, let us call in the Sea it ſelf, whom we ſhall find a much more merciful Element, to our aſſiſtance. And this, my Lord, being ſeconded by the *Dutch* Mob, now aſtoniſhed and confounded with the Loſs of their Country by Land, and oppoſed by two the moſt potent Kings in the World, by Sea; they in a Rage aſſaſſinated the two *de Witts*, as the Betrayers of their Country, and Cauſers of that ſame Calamity, and then depoſed the States, whom they looked upon to be of the *Loveſtein* or *de Witts* Faction, and

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then restored the Prince of *Orange*, now at Age, to the hereditary Authority and Command of his Ancestors: which sudden and violent Proceedings did more than stun the *French* King. But after a little Recovery, and finding that his Friends in *Amsterdam*, and other places yet unconquer'd, were dispossest of all Authority, and that now the Prince of *Orange* managed all the Affairs of the State with Pensionary *Fagel*; he made an Essay to catch the Prince in a Net, he with his Council had finely spun for him, by proposing to make him Sovereign of the *United Provinces*, under his and his Brother of *England*'s Protection. I never could learn who it was they employed to the Prince upon this occasion, and what Arguments they induced to gain his Consent, though they may be easily gues's'd at; they being never enter'd into their Cabinet Minutes: and perhaps it was because they met with such a Success upon the Prince, as they did not in the least expect; whose Answer was, *He would never betray a Trust reposed in him, nor ever sell the* LIBERTIES *of his Country, that his Ancestors had so long defended*, &c. I have not opportunity to go on in the Prosecution of this Subject at present, but hope in my next, to make it up to your Lordship's content: and so remain,

My Lord,

Your Honour's most

Obedient Servant.

Paris, Nov. 3.
1678. N.S.

LET-

LETTER XXXI.

Of the Embaſſy ſent by King Charles II. *upon the Advice of the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *to expoſtulate with the* French *King, and ſtop his further Proceedings.*

My Lord,

I Have in my laſt, to your Lordſhip, taken notice of the Surprize and Indignation the *French* King and his Council were put to, at the Revolution in *Amſterdam*, and elſewhere in the *United Provinces*; and how much his Correſpondents had deceived him, in aſſuring him, that all was his own in that wealthy City, and that there ſeemed but that one Place to perfect and ſecure the Reunion of all the *Belgick* Provinces, that renowned part of the antient *Gallia*, to his new *French Bourbonian* Empire, (as he was adviſed by ſome to call it) and now to ſee his victorious Chariot in its full ſpeed, and almoſt at the end of its Career, receive a check by the Reſolution of one puny Burgher; and withal that his Attempts upon the young Prince of *Orange* proved abortive. However, conſidering he was Maſter of all the Places round about, and no Power then on the Continent being in a poſture to come to its Relief; and that tho the Prince of *Orange* were reſtored to the Command of his Anceſtors, he had as good almoſt to have been without it, in the poſture his own and the Affairs of the State were then in; and confiding ſtill in the Influence of thoſe of his Cabal within, who were Men of greater Eſtates and Eminence (tho at preſent laid aſide) than that obſcure Burgher, and thoſe whom the Mob had advanced to their Offices. And beſides, that the little Vigour that ſeemed

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to be infuſed into the drooping Spirits of the Citizens, by the aforeſaid Revolution and Remonſtrances, would quickly vaniſh, and be interpreted as a Flaſh of unſeaſonable and inſignificant Raſhneſs, at the ſight of his formidable Troops, and diſappear like Smoke before the Sun, to whom his Flatterers had taught him to compare himſelf. It was reſolved, the Place ſhould be reduced, if not otherwiſe, by his Arms with all ſpeed, to prevent any intervening Accidents, that might impede the mighty Succeſs; but ſeaſonably came another Adventure, that put a new Spoke in the Wheel: For, my Lord, while the *French* Court thought themſelves ſecure of all things on our ſide, as having in their Imagination not only lulled the King aſleep, but the five Perſons that made up the Cabal that managed him (and in effect there were four of them in their Intereſts) the fifth Man, who was that renowned Stateſman and true Patriot, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, whoſe ſagacious Head could penetrate deeper than the reſt, and whoſe Eagle Eyes, the Splendour of thoſe Golden Pieces ſtreaming in ſuch abundance from that *French Phaeton*, and which had blinded ſo many others in the like Station, could not dazzle, uſed all his Efforts to rouze up our King from the heavy Slumber of Security, into which *French* Sorcery had caſt him; and highly to repreſent to him in their true Light, the fatal Conſequences to his Crown, Dignity, and Intereſt, attending the taking of that City, and the total Conqueſt of the *Hollanders*, tho now his Enemies, by any other, at leaſt than *Engliſh* hands, and above all by the Arms of *France*: and conſtrained him by the Cogency of his Reaſons, and vigorous Repreſentations of a ſpeedy and brisk Interpoſition, preſt home with an Importunity that would admit of no Evaſion, nor allow any Repoſe, but immediately to diſpatch away an Embaſſy to divert the impending Stroke. But tho my Lord, by his preſſing Eloquence, gained his Point, in regard to the Embaſſy in it ſelf, yet your Lordſhip very well knows, that two of the three Perſons employ'd in it, *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham*,

kingham, and the Lord *Arlington*, were deeply engaged in the *French* Intereſt, and ſeemed by their Carriage at the *French* Court, then at *Utrecht*, rather as if they had been ſent to promote the *French* Conqueſts, than any way to obſtruct them: and becauſe they knew my Lord *Halifax* was honeſt, they did all they could to oppoſe his appearing and acting conjunctly with them, tho included in the ſame Commiſſion, in as ample a manner as themſelves, under pretence of his coming a day or two after them to the *Hague*: And when they could no longer keep him from acting, went privately to the *French* Camp, under ſham Pretences, and had Negotiations of their own on foot. But tho my Lord *Halifax*'s Vigilancy, Conſtancy, and Reſolutions could not balk theirs and the *French* King's Deſigns, yet it put them hard to it, and they ſaw plainly that it was the King's mind they ſhould deſiſt: however, the *French* Court never forgot that noble Lord, the Adviſer of the Embaſſy; whereof I ſhall not forget to give your Lordſhip an account in due place; but do intend in my next to tranſmit the Subſtance of the Conſultation held by the *French* King, upon this unexpected Embaſſy. And ſo wiſhing your Honour all Happineſs, remain,

Paris, June 14. 1678. N. S.

My Lord,

Your devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER XXXII.

An Account of the Council held by the French *King upon the Embassy from* England, *with the Resolves thereupon, and Methods proposed to elude it.*

My Lord,

UPON so tickliſh and unexpected an Occaſion as was mention'd in my laſt, a Council extraordinary was held, wherein the major part, after a ſerious and warm Debate, were for their King's purſuing his firſt Reſolution, in ſpite of all the Conſiderations to the contrary; and to venture even a Rupture with *England*, if it could not otherwiſe be avoided, rather than quit ſo dainty a Morſel, and loſe an opportunity never to be again retrieved, of gaining a Poſt from whence he might eaſily defy all the Force of *Europe*. But however, to carry on things the more fairly for his Reputation, and to accompliſh his Deſign, if poſſible, without a preſent War with *England*, whoſe Friendſhip was as yet more convenient than its Hate, they adviſed him to diſpatch away immediately ſome acceptable and able Miniſter to our Court, with ſtore of *Alamode* Lenitives to that Sore, and to return an Anſwer in the mean while to our Ambaſſadors, full of ſpecious Pretences and Promiſes of intended Advantage to their Prince and Country by that very Expedition they were ſent to diſſuade; and to tell them that his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty* having reduced his and their Maſter's common Enemy ſo low as they now ſaw them, and ſuch a panick Terrour having ſeized the People, even of the Capital City, that if it were made uſe of in time, muſt needs make the Town an eaſy Prey to him if he would advance towards it; and ſo in one

Action put a glorious and happy end to the War, to the ineſtimable Advantage of the two Kings, and the ſaving much Time, Blood and Treaſure; being unwilling ſo precious and irrecoverable an Opportunity ſhould be loſt both for his Brother and himſelf, of ſubduing that ſeven-headed *Hydra* of Faction and Rebellion, that *Republick* ſo hateful and adverſe to Kings, by one lopping off with an expeditious Blow, for want of complying with ſo rare an Offer of Providence; he was reſolved to follow the Call of Heaven and Victory: but withal did aſſure them, on the Word of a great King, and the Honour he ſo much valued himſelf upon, that his Brother, their Maſter, had no reaſon to take umbrage, nor ſhould have cauſe to conceive any regret at that demarch of his: For that his reaſon for attacking it was, that his Arms were there ready to lay hold of the Opportunity, and their Maſters was not; and his Intention in taking it, was only to keep it for him till a convenient Gariſon might be ſent from *England* to take poſſeſſion of it, when he would with all Sincerity render it to him undamaged; and without polling or peeling the Inhabitants, whom he ſhould always conſider as the Subjects of his Brother of *England*, and Ally. And if that Anſwer would not content them, then to reply that what he deſigned was too neceſſary, and of too much Importance for both Kings, and particularly for their Maſter; that if he were not impoſed upon, or were but rightly informed of his own Intereſt in that Expedition, he would be ſo far from oppoſing it, that he would rather incourage him to it: and therefore could give no other return to their Inſtances, but deſire them either to wait for an Anſwer to the Premiſes from their Maſter, or go home and report what he had remonſtrated; not doubting but his Envoy, whom he had ſent to *England* ſince their coming, would by that time they returned, have ſo well ſatisfy'd his Majeſty, that he would perfectly acquieſce in the Reſolutions he had taken for both their Profits, return him thanks for the ſame, and fully repoſe in the Sincerity he had always found in him: and there-

therefore assuring himself, as much of his Majesty's Approbation of what he designed upon his better Information of it, he should, without losing any time, push on his Advantage while he might. And as for the Envoy he sent for *England*, they advised him he should be dispatched away immediately upon the Council's rising, with the Instructions they should then concert before another Audience were given to our Ambassadors, that he might have time to tell his Tale first before any Letters or Advice could come from ours. 'Alas, said they, 'this Embassage is none of the King of *Great Britain*'s 'Doings, but a mere force put upon him by the Im- 'portunity of some popular Grandees, whom he dares 'not displease for fear of the People: let your Majesty 'but send a Sop to them to take off their mouthing; and 'then ply the King with the usual Flatteries and Protes- 'tations, and the forementioned Pretences of Promises, 'seasoned with a little Salt of *Peru*; and you need not 'doubt but his Credulity and Indigence is great enough 'to swallow the Bait. And as for what he may fear 'from those popular Men, it may be suggested that the 'taking of that Town only will break the Neck of their 'Faction; and when it should be put into his hands, 'which if he durst confide in a Prince whom he had reason 'to believe by the uncontestable Proofs he had given 'him just before the War, of his inviolable Friendship 'for him, should be as he promised, it would quiet all 'mutinying Spirits again in a moment. He is credu- 'lous enough, said they, to believe Shams, less artificial 'and less alluring than these; and if, after all, our Flat- 'teries should not prevail alone, our Menaces will: 'for tho he be a little fearful of the Resentments of his 'People for cleaving to us, he is more of us; for he 'fears their Hate, yet durst not trust their Affection; 'whereas he durst not provoke our Hate, but trust our 'Friendship as the only private Fence, we have taught 'him to think he has, against their Discontents. And 'therefore a final Threatning from your Majesty, telling 'him if he knows not his own Interest, your Majesty

'knows it, will hector him out of any Stiffneſs, the 'fear of them may put him upon, againſt your Deſigns 'at leaſt. Tho you cannot with his Ambaſſadors here, 'you may by yours with him, prolong the Conteſt long 'enough to gain time ſufficient to effect your Work: 'For thoſe Inhabitants ſoon growing out of hopes of 'Succour from *England*, as well as *Germany*, they will 'relapſe into a more violent Fit of Deſpair than ever, 'and yield. After whoſe Acquiſition it will be eaſy for 'your Majeſty to banter the *Engliſh* out of their Pre-'tences; or ſhould they be ſo fool-hardy as to aſſert 'them by Arms, it will be eaſy for your Majeſty to beat 'them off the Seas, and make their Country the next 'Stage of War, when *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, de-'prived once of the *Low-Country* Paſſages, tho never 'ſo concerned at the Spectacle, would not be able to 'help them. And therefore your Majeſty, continued 'they, need not be awed by any fear of diſobliging 'them for taking in what places by Arms or Policy you 'can; eſpecially this, on which ſo much depends the 'Conqueſt of the reſt, which once accompliſhed, when 'the *Engliſh* ſhall demand the Share allowed them by 'the Treaty, and by your Majeſty's repeated Promiſes, 'what plauſible banter will it be to tell them, they have 'little reaſon to expect a Share in the acquiſition of 'others, who when they might, have made none them-'ſelves, but rather have been prejudicial to the common In-'tereſt by their unſeaſonable and unreaſonable Diviſions; 'of and in which, *&c.* ſaid they, we have ſown ſuch 'Seeds as cannot fail of Production, and in their great 'Council of Parliament, *&c*? That the true purport of 'the Treaty was only conditional, allotting each Party 'ſuch and ſuch a Share in the Countries projected to be 'conquer'd, upon ſuppoſal that they ſhould attack and 'ſubdue each of them their reſpective Proportion; and 'therefore that it was ridiculous in them to pretend a 'Claim, who had made no Conqueſt, not ſo much as of 'any one Place, and had been ſo far from landing on 'the Enemy, that they had not done their Duty at Sea.

'And

'And in fine, added they, to compleat the Farce, how 'ſpecious a Concluſion will it be, to aſſure them how-'ever that your moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to manifeſt to 'them how religiouſly punctual you are to your Pro-'miſes, will take no advantage of their Failures or Miſ-'fortunes; but provided they will give your Majeſty a 'reaſonable Conſideration for the Expences of Blood 'and Treaſure you have been at in the taking and keep-'ing of 'em for them in a tenable Condition; you 'are ready to order them Livery and Seizing of them 'according to the Letter of the Treaty, and your own re-'peated Promiſes? For which pretended Expences, pur-'ſued they ſtill, your Majeſty may inſtruct your Miniſters 'to demand ſuch exceſſive Sums, as you know they nei-'ther can nor will diſburſe. And as for their aſſerting 'their Claim by a War, after your ſeizing of *Amſter-'dam*, that great Magazine of the dead Riches of *Eu-'rope* and both *Indies*, and of Warlike Proviſions both 'by Sea and Land; and the total Reduction not only of 'that potent *Republick* of which it was the Head, but 'likewiſe of the living Sources of Treaſure both in the '*Eaſt* and *Weſt*, by making their great Fleet, Merchants, 'Colonies, and Commerce all your own, which cannot 'but clear your way to *Guinea* and *Peru*: what Sto-'mach, ſaid they, can the *Engliſh* after this have, by 'taking of their Outworks the *Low-Countries*, de-'barred from all Aſſiſtance from *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Ger-'many*, if in their right Senſes, to have recourſe to 'Arms? Alas! what Power to attempt any thing, but 'what will move your Pity more than your Indignation? 'Nay rather, what greater Ambition will be left them, 'than to court your Majeſty by an eaſy and voluntary 'Submiſſion to receive them as honourable Tributaries, 'thereby to retain a ſhadow of their antient Government 'and Liberty, without incurring the certain Deſtiny, by 'an impotent and fruitleſs Reſiſtance, of being forcibly 'reduced into a Province of your growing Empire? 'to which the *Roman Eagle* it ſelf, abandoning the de-'fenceleſs Towers of *Auſtria*, ſhattered both by *Eaſtern*

'and *Western* Hurricanes, for the better preserving and 're-establishing its antient State and Majesty, will then 'be glad to retire.

'This may be your Majesty's Method, continued they, 'to preserve Peace a while with *England*, or stave off at 'least the War, till your present grand Design be ac- 'complished; and these your Measures how to deal with 'them afterward, in case they suffer you quietly to at- 'chieve this important Conquest. But should we be 'able by no Art to buoy up the King of *England*'s Spi- 'rits against the head-strong Opposition of the popular 'Party about him; nor so much as to delay a Rupture, 'nor to hinder that violent People from immediately de- 'claring against us: yet all Considerations on all sides 'duly weighed and perpended, it will be much greater 'and more certain Advantage to your Majesty, and of 'much less dangerous Consequence to your Affairs in 'general, to venture a War with them now about a 'Town, which with all they can do, they cannot assist 'time enough to rescue from you; and by whose Ac- 'quisition against their Wills, you will not only be quit 'of all their Pretensions, but gain power to crush them 'too at pleasure; than after you have for fear of them 'quitted so great a Conquest, to have a War in a little 'time after, both with them and all the rest of *Europe*, 'not only without those Advantages, but with the 'greatest Disadvantage imaginable; as without setting 'on work a hundred expensive and troublesom Intrigues 'you now will have no need of, your Majesty will 'certainly have then, notwithstanding all your Com- 'pliance to them, if you quit your present Design. For, 'said they, suppose upon your proceeding to the Expe- 'dition in question, the *English* declaring a sudden War 'against you, should cause the *Amsterdamers* to as- 'sume Courage enough to repulse your Arms; how easy 'were it for your Majesty upon advantageous Terms to 'clap up a sudden Peace with those distressed People, 'and by returning out of their Country to pacify all 'those Powers now preparing against you, and then

'with

'with your whole Force to fall upon the *Engliſh*, with 'which perhaps too the *Hollanders* would eaſily be per-'ſuaded to join theirs, as glad to ſee themſelves deliver'd 'ſo unexpectedly, their old Enemies drawn ſo genteelly 'into the Snare, and ſo fair an occaſion put into their 'hands to revenge themſelves on that Rival Nation for 'joining with us againſt them; with which it will not 'be amiſs however by your Envoy to threaten the *Eng-'liſh* King. Nay, and how probable it is that the po-'pular Party in *England* would on that occaſion favour 'the *Hollanders*, to keep down Abſolute Power, and to 'preſerve their Religion againſt the aſpiring Duke and 'Popery; all which they ſtrongly fear'd would have 'come in at once upon them after the Ruin of that 'Proteſtant State? At leaſt, ſay they, how effectual 'may it be to let your Majeſty's Envoy add that threat-'ning among the reſt to the King of *England?* But 'alas! continu'd they, it is but a matter of mere Spe-'culation never likely to come to paſs, that any thing 'the *Engliſh* can do at preſent ſhould, as the Poſture of 'their Affairs is now, hinder your Majeſty's taking 'that City, whoſe richeſt and eminenteſt Citizens being 'already gain'd to your Party, the very Terror of your 'Majeſty's Navy, and the Appearance of your Forces, 'will quickly open it unto you; notwithſtanding the 'weak Oppoſition of a Party form'd in a tumultuary way 'among the Mobile, by a few particular bigotted Citizens, 'who at the Noiſe of your Cannon would immediately 'turn to the other Extreme, and cry out as loudly for a 'Surrender.

'And as for the *Engliſh*, ſay they, our Emiſſaries 'have been ſo buſy and ſo ſucceſsful at *Amſterdam*, 'that it can never be thought, whatever good Opinion 'they may have of the People of *England*, that they 'can be induc'd to confide ſo much in their King, whom 'they have ſo perſonally and ſo groſly affronted in all 'that can be ſenſible to a Prince, and whom they know 'ſo much *frenchify'd*, as to think he can heartily intend 'them any good; or that they can expect any milder

'Terms of Subjection under him, either in respect of 'Religion or Property, than under your Majesty: since 'they are daily, and by very good Tokens assur'd, that 'he is privately advanc'd already towards *Rome* as far 'as the other, and waits only the Subversion of their '*Republick* to assume every whit as Despotical and Ty-'rannical a Dominion over his Subjects in both respects, 'as the *French* Monarch had over his: Or in fine, that 'they had so great an opinion of his Power in that 'Posture of Affairs, as to think him able to rescue them 'time enough, or remove the *French* from them, if he 'went really about it. And consequently that in the 'great Consternation they then were in, and the little 'Hopes they had of the slow Forces of *Germany*, 'and the Distrust they lay under both of their own 'Strength, and of the Faith and Power of the *English*, 'together with the Apprehension they were possess'd 'with, of losing the great Riches they had there by an 'obstinate Resistance, which they might secure by a 'timely Composition; they would undoubtedly submit 'upon the first Summons of his Majesty, or any fam'd 'General of his, at the head of a considerable Body of 'Men, especially when his Majesty should offer them 'such advantageous Conditions, as they advised him to 'do, the more effectually to avert them from all 'Thoughts or Temptations to close with *England*; and 'to propose to them, That Matters of Religion and 'Commerce should remain in the same state; as also the 'Privileges of their Companies, Colonies, *&c.* That they 'should have the Privileges of Natives in all the other 'Dominions of *France*; with many other Sugar-'Plums: To the exact Performance of which, it was not 'to be question'd but they would easily give credit, since 'to that time his Honour was entire, and had no ways 'been stain'd with any gross Infidelities; and that the 'Protestants then enjoy'd no small Liberty in his Domi-'nions. And when you shall be in the possession of 'the Place, all these specious Promises need not hinder 'your Majesty, said they, from seizing however as much

'of

'of their Treasure as your Interest shall direct you to 'take, nor from putting such other Restraints upon them 'as you please: for which they gave him such Expedients, 'as were thought proper and necessary to elude the ad- 'vantageous and specious Conditions, by which their 'over-credulous Inhabitants were to be wheedled out of 'their precious Liberties.'

In the last place, they laid before him the many and grand Inconveniencies, which by letting slip such an advantageous Juncture would unavoidably follow; which they represented as much more in number, and of vastly greater Consequence, than those that could possibly arrive from his pursuing it: 'For, urged they, if your 'Majesty let go this Opportunity, it will not only be said 'of you, as of the great *Hannibal*, that you know how 'to get, but know not how to prosecute a Victory; 'but the same Fate will likewise befal you. This des- 'pised and almost oppressed Enemy will recover Strength 'and Courage, the *Germans* and the House of *Austria* 'will come into its Succour; you must quit your pre- 'sent Conquests to oppose them, and your present Allies 'on the Continent will forsake you. If you be beaten, 'how disadvantageous, and perhaps fatal must the Event 'needs be to you? and if you overcome, yet how far 'will you be from a compleat Conquest, or from mak- 'ing that advanc'd and assur'd Progress towards the E- 'rection of a new Empire; as you would do in the 'taking that one Place, whose Gates, tho they belong 'but to one City, would let you into the Possession of 'the most valuable Parts of the Earth, and furnish you 'with the Nerves of War, which thereby would be cut 'off from the rest of the World?' I was not willing to give your Lordship an account of this Consultation by piece-meals, and that has made me so tedious; who am,

Paris, July 2. 1678. N. S.

My Lord,

Your Honour's to serve you.

LETTER XXXIII.

Of the Confederacy enter'd into for the Defence of Holland; *of the Prince of* Orange's *Succeſs againſt* France, *and of the Methods uſed by the* French *to hinder the King of* England *to make Peace, and join with the* Dutch, *by removing my Lord* Shaftesbury *from being Chancellor,* &c.

My Lord,

THERE was hardly a Prince on Earth worſe ſerved than our King, and who paid more, having no leſs than three Embaſſadors to make up the Embaſſy mention'd in my laſt ſave one to your Lordſhip; and yet two of the three concurring with the *French* Deſigns, to the Ruin of *Holland* firſt, and ſo conſequently their own native Country next: ſo that the poor *Hollanders*, as your Lordſhip may well remember, were forced to ſave their Country from the *French* (who, purſuant to the laſt Advice, were ready to devour it) by loſing it in the Sea, in breaking down the Dikes, the laſt Extremity, and the only Remedy they had left them; for this gave them time to think of their Affairs, and this firſt brought the Elector of *Brandenburg*, then the Emperor, and at laſt the King or Queen Regent of *Spain*, as apprehenſive of the common Danger to all of them in general, by the *French* ſubduing the *Dutch* Provinces, to enter into a mutual League for their Defence: And by their Conjunction, the Prince of *Orange*, who had all this time ſtruggled with the hardeſt Deſtiny that could be, and lay neglected by his Uncles, as if they had no ſhare either in his good or bad Fortunes, recover'd ſeveral of the

Upland

Upland Towns in almoſt as little time as they had been taken by the *French*: and like another *Scipio*, having join'd *Montecuculi*, the Emperor's General, in the dead of Winter; and ſo carrying the War out of his own Country, beſieg'd and took *Bon*, the Reſidence of the Elector of *Cologn*, and thereby did cut off the Communication between *France* and *Holland*; whereby the *French* were neceſſitated not only to quit their conquer'd Towns by heaps, but he alſo open'd a Paſſage for the Imperial Forces to join the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh*. But tho neither the Senſe of his own true Intereſt, nor the Ties of Conſanguinity to the Prince of *Orange*, could induce our King to come to the Reſcue of *Holland*; which, notwithſtanding the Prince's Bravery and Succeſs, was ſtill but in a pitiful plight, as having but newly recover'd their drowned Country: yet the *French* had an incurable Jealouſy of him, the Remembrance of the foremention'd Interpoſition by his Embaſſy was ſtill freſh in Memory; and as that fell out when they leaſt expected any ſuch thing, ſo they conſider'd a Peace might be ſtruck up in as ſudden and ſurprizing a manner, and therefore they ſet all their Engines on work to hinder it if poſſible. And in the firſt place, knowing that great Perſon who had the Influence over the King to procure ſuch an Embaſſy, and might alſo by the ſame Arguments induce him to make a much hardier ſtep, and force him at laſt, in ſpite of his own Inclinations, or *French* Menaces, as well as of *French* Charms, not only to a Peace with *Holland*, but even to a War againſt them; they therefore left nothing uneſſay'd, no Stone unturn'd, to get him to diſpoſe of the Chancellor's Place, tho it was well known the King himſelf, upon a certain Occaſion, had given his Teſtimony of his being the wiſeſt Subject he had in his Dominions, and ſeem'd at that time to value him accordingly. I cannot poſſibly inform your Lordſhip, by which of their Inſtruments it was done, for I never could find it was inſerted in the Minutes; but I have heard it generally diſcours'd at the *French* Court, that they plough'd in this Affair with the Heifer

they

they had formerly presented the King withal; and that the Duke also, whom they had by their Emissaries irritated against him, (to whom they alledg'd that he had taken notice of his keeping off of late from the Protestant Worship, and talked too liberally thereof, not without some Expressions boding much Danger to his Highness, and even levelled at putting him by the Succession it self) gave a helping hand thereto.

But for all they had gain'd so considerable a point, as the Removal of the Chancellor, yet fearing still the worst, they never left off their former Apprehensions; and therefore their Ministers still continu'd with utmost Application to pursue their Game, both by magnificent Promises, and Offers of Mony, and some Menaces *a la sourdene:* but with Instructions after all their Industry, if they could not succeed in obstructing the Peace, yet not to fail to elude it; which how well they succeeded in the first for a time, and when that could not be warded off any longer, how much more fortunate Success they have had in the latter, I shall endeavour to make your Lordship acquainted with at another time, when I hope they may be no less grateful to your Honour's Gusto, from him who desires to approve himself to be,

Paris, Oct. 9. 1678.

My Lord,

Your Obedient Servant.

LET-

LETTER XXXIV.

Of the negotiating a Marriage between the Duke of York *and the Princeſs of* Inſpruck *in* Germany. *How that Match came to be broke off; and how the* French *gain'd their Point, in marrying the Princeſs of* Modena *to him.*

My Lord,

THINGS continuing in the ſame poſture I mention'd in my laſt to your Lordſhip, between *England* and *France*, the latter having the full Aſcendency over our King and Court, to keep them from the Peace with *Holland*, and to enter into a War in conjunction with the reſt of the Confederates againſt them; and the Duke of *York* happening to be a Widower, who was entirely, as they thought, in their Intereſts at this time, which was the Year 1673. there was an Intrigue ſtarted up and carry'd on, that in all appearance was ready to break the Thred of all their Contrivances, and irrecoverably to overturn all they had been ſo long, and with ſo much pains about: But another as lucky a Hit interpos'd timely in their aid, which ſalved all their drooping Intereſt in our Court again ſounder than ever; tho like the Beaſt in the *Apocalypſe*, it ſeem'd to have receiv'd its deadly Wound: for when a Negotiation was now not only ſet on foot, but in a manner concluded, for matching our Duke with a Princeſs of the *Auſtrian* Family, (an Alliance which would certainly have broke the neck of all Leagues with *France*, and made *England* once more the Ballance between thoſe two mighty Powers) I ſay, juſt when a Match was concluded with a Princeſs

of

of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and nothing ſeem'd remaining to the accompliſhing of it, but celebrating the Eſpouſals, and bringing over the Lady into *England*, to remain the Gage of a cloſe and laſting Alliance between the Royal Stem of *England*, and that Illuſtrious and Potent Houſe; and the Monſieur, at biting his Nails for ſpite to ſee his Intereſt there deſperate and paſt retrieval; it moſt luckily happen'd to him, that in that very Interim the Empreſs died, and the Emperor coming to want a Conſort, and finding no other worthy his Choice, according to the uſual Practice of the *Auſtrian* Families, whoſe Branches intermarry frequently with one another, he retain'd the Lady for himſelf: and ſo defeating our Prince of his Spouſe, and putting of him in a new queſt, gave the *French* an opportunity to proffer him a Female, who they knew deſcended from a right intriguing Breed, and would be ſure to do their Work thoroughly, and thereby not only renew, but make ſure againſt all Events that Alliance, that hath ſince proved ſo pernicious to all *Europe*, and ſo vexatious to the one, as well as to the other of our Princes. This Match they knew might be of great Importance to them, not only as to the promoting their ambitious Ends in *England*, but in *Italy* too; and if they could once enſnare the Duke into it, would as fixedly tie him to their Intereſts, as it would infallibly loſe him every where elſe, and engage not only the Proteſtant Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, but even all the other Powers of *Chriſtendom*, as well of the *Roman* Communion as the Reformed, to oppoſe his future Elevation, that ſo he might be wholly dependant upon them; ſhe being a Lady not only *Italian* by Nation, but a Relation of the Pope, (and in that quality moſt odious to *England*) and alſo of the late Cardinal *Mazarine*: and in a word, of a Prince Penſionary to the *French*, and an adopted Daughter of *France*; which laſt Quality they honour'd her with, to render her compleatly hateful to all the World, beſides moſt liberally paying her Portion, penſioning the King, and greaſing the Miniſters to have the Parliament prorogued, that in the Interim the Match

might be huddled up with all the Precipitation imaginable, for fear upon the leaſt delay, by contrary Sollicitations from the *Auſtrians*, or any other Potentates abroad, or any black and grumbling Clouds at home, the unſtable King might be over-perſuaded or frighted from letting his Brother go on with that deſtructive Alliance. Theſe, my Lord, were their Contrivances and Precautions upon this Subject; and they ſucceeded ſo well in their Endeavours, that mauger any Reaſons the King might have to the contrary, or any Oppoſition made by ſome few then about him, that Match was concluded, from which *England* may in a very great meaſure date the Commencement of her enſuing Grievances; and which, according to the Parliament's Prediction of it, cauſed ſuch terrible Earthquakes in the three Nations already, and God Almighty alone knows what the dire Effects may be, and where things will terminate at long run, tho it may at the ſame time prove better than our Fears: for after it was once done, they cared not what Storms it produc'd amongſt us. For if the Endeavours of an Alliance, cemented with ſo charming a Female, unweary'd in Enticements, could not allure, nor the ſugar'd Profeſſions of a conſtant Amity and Protection, beſides the powerful Spells of continual Supplies of Mony, engage ſufficiently; yet they were confident the Troubles it would cauſe, would neceſſitate him for Self-preſervation, to keep cloſe to their Intereſts, and to be content perhaps for the Preſervation of the reſt, to give them part of his Eſtates, whenever it ſhould ſucceed, and make them Executors of his Will; or at leaſt, at all adventures, keep up ſuch Diviſions, as by the care they would take to ballance the reſpective Parties concern'd in them would both divert and diſable the Nation from exerting their Reſentment againſt them to any great purpoſe. Theſe, my Lord, were the Improvements they propoſed to make by this Match; and herewith I ſhall conclude, who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 30. 1678. *Your Lordſhip's Very Humble Servant.*

LET.

LETTER XXXV.

Of the Peace made between England *and* Holland, *in* February 167$\frac{3}{4}$. *the Motives to it, and the* French *Methods to elude it, by retaining the* Iriſh *ſtill in their Service, with our Court's Connivance.*

My Lord,

I Have formerly taken notice to your Lordſhip of the Methods and Precautions the *French* uſed, to keep our King from making a Peace with the *Dutch* States; and how they made it their buſineſs to diſpoſſeſs all thoſe, and particularly my Lord *Shaftesbury*, of the King's Ear and Favour, who were concern'd for his and the Nation's Intereſt, by promoting ſuch a Peace. But though they prevail'd therein, as well as in that of the Duke's Marriage with a Female of their own chuſing; yet, my Lord, you know very well, they fail'd to ſtem the Tide that broke in as a Conſequent upon that Vote of the Commons, *October* 31. 1673. That conſidering the Condition the Nation was then in, they would not take into further Conſideration any Aids or Charges upon the Subject, except it did appear the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch* ſhould render it neceſſary, *&c.* For the *French* Emiſſaries had taught the King and his Junto their Leſſon, to wit, to give out that the *Dutch* were full of Sullenneſs and Obſtinacy, and would come to no honourable Terms, and therefore there was a neceſſity of further humbling of them. But now the Court of *England* were as haſty to make up the Peace with *Holland*, as e'er they were to declare War againſt them; and the ſame was concluded the 9th of *February*, 167$\frac{3}{4}$. But tho the *Dutch* came hereby to enjoy Peace with us at Sea, yet they found the pernicious Effects

of

of the Valour of the *Engliſh* Troops, which continu'd in the *French* Armies, and gain'd them ſeveral Victories after that Peace; till upon the earneſt and repeated Inſtances, both of the Foreign Powers concern'd, and of our own Parliament, ſome Redreſs was given to that Grievance, but never a total one; a Proclamation being obtain'd for recalling our Forces from the *French* Service, which yet was conſtru'd not to extend to the *Iriſh* Nation: who after that, by the Connivance of our King, not only continu'd there in Bodies as formerly, but drew over Recruits from time to time, and were moſt highly cheriſh'd and careſs'd, as indeed were the *Iriſh* Nation all along, with a ſenſible Difference above the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, eſpecially when a War was expected with us; they having a ſecret Deſign upon that Kingdom, by one Method or other, ever ſince their firſt drawing our King into League with them: which they did not obſcurely intimate, when, by way of Encouragement, they would now and then ſay to the *Iriſh Roman* Officers among them, as likewiſe to other qualify'd Gentlemen-Travellers of that ſame Nation, That the King their Maſter had an Eſteem of them above all other Nations, for their Antiquity, Generoſity, and invincible Conſtancy to their old Religion for above a Century of Years, after their Maſters the *Engliſh* had abandon'd it: and that the *Scotch* and *Welſh Britains*, by the Contagion of their Example, with ſufficient Derogation from their former unviolated Claims to Antiquity and unconquer'd Liberty, had done the like. And would aſſure them from him, That the time would come when he would ſhew them Marks of his Eſteem, by conferring the Hereditary Guard of his own, and his Succeſſor's Perſons on their Nation, inſtead of the *Scots*, who were now departed from their Intereſts; and that as a Catholick Prince, and the Guarantee of their Treaty with King *Charles*, when in Baniſhment, for reſtoring to them their Eſtates, whenever he ſhould be reſtor'd, he would ſee them righted, and would one day free them from the Tyranny of the *Engliſh* Nation.

But

But notwithstanding all underhand Compliance of our Court with that of *France*, as our Peace with *Holland* had already displeased them, this recalling of our Troops, as partially executed as it was, quite put them out of humour: so that though they durst not shew their Resentments too far, for fear of increasing the Evil they fretted at; yet they did what they could by Allurements to debauch, and by hard Usage, and all imaginable Discouragements, both to deter as many as they could of our Soldiers from paying Obedience to the said Proclamation, and to disable those who were fixedly bent to return, from being serviceable to their King and Country. Among the rest, mighty Advantages were offer'd to my Lord *Douglas*, afterwards Earl of *Dumbarton*, to intice him to stay; and some time after he was gone, upon hearing he had no Preferment under his own King, by reason of the Severity of our Laws against Men of his Persuasion, there were very great Rewards proposed to those they thought had any Influence over him, to persuade him to return, and particularly to my self, in case I could find any who could so far prevail over him, but all in vain: yet most of the *Irish* remain'd to the last, and were very serviceable at the brisk Action of *Gyrone*, and on some other Occasions; and after the Fear of the War with us was blown over by the Tempest raised among our selves, whilst we blinded our Parliament and People, by seeming to observe exactly the Articles of Neutrality agreed upon between our King and them, they for a long time, and even till now, have refused to receive any *English* and *Scotch* Officers and Soldiers into their Service; though contrary to their Allegiance to their King and Country, several of them, and some of them *Romans* of try'd Affection, proffer'd themselves, yet still as many *Irish* as presented themselves, were readily entertain'd.

And thus, my Lord, though these subtile Politicians missed of their first Point in hindring our Peace with *Holland*, they succeeded but too well in the second, through our Court's Weakness and base Prevarication; which

which was eluding it, by corrupting our Neutrality, with ſuch a Partiality on their ſide, that it was a Hony-Comb to them, whilſt it was but a Spunge of Gall and Vinegar to the Confederates. But foreſeeing that in time this juggling Conduct of our King would make all *Europe* murmur, and render his Friendſhip or Mediation ſuſpicious every where; that it would make him odious to his People, and blow into a Flame thoſe old Jealouſies that already began to rekindle, and afford ample Matter for the Emiſſaries of the Confederates to work upon in our Nation, and conſequently to actuate our People ſo violently to a League with the ſaid Allies againſt them, that it would be impoſſible for the King, with Safety, to reſiſt them; (for of his Good-will to them, by this time they were pretty confident) they therefore were careful to make a timely Proviſion againſt an Inconvenience ſo much dreaded by them, and to endeavour to make uſe of thoſe very Jealouſies, Fears, and Animoſities, whoſe Effects they apprehended againſt their Adverſaries, by dextrouſly catching them up, like Fireworks before they brake, and returning them back upon our ſelves. And this difficult ſort of Game they managed by ſeveral Stratagems, of which I have neither room nor opportunity to advertiſe your Lordſhip at preſent, but muſt defer it to a proper Seaſon; and remain, as I truly am,

My Lord,

Paris, July 12.
1678. N. S.

Your very Humble Servant.

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LETTER XXXVI.

Of the Marquiſs de Ruvigny, *a* French *Proteſtant, his being ſent Ambaſſador into* England; *and what the Politicks of* France *were therein.*

My Lord,

I Do not queſtion but your Lordſhip does remember the firſt time of the Marquiſs *de Ruvigny*'s being ſent Envoy from this Court into *England*, which was in the Year 1669. and which, I think, I have in one of my Letters hinted already. That he was a Perſon very capable for ſuch an Imployment, none can doubt that knew him; but that ever he was choſen by this Court purely for his Capacity, is not to be admitted of. You know, my Lord, thè Triple League ſtuck then cloſe in the *French* King's Stomach; and that the danger Religion was in, as well as Property, from the Progreſs of the *French* Arms before in the *Netherlands*, contributed very much to the cementing of ſuch an Alliance, which this Court were labouring tooth and nail to break to pieces, and more eſpecially to get the King of *England* out of it; and to that end, Monſieur *Ruvigny*'s Religion, he being a Proteſtant, highly recommended him. How well he diſcharg'd his Commiſſion then, I need not recount to your Lordſhip, the Event has ſufficiently diſcover'd it to *England*, as well as to *Holland*'s ſorrow, and to the no ſmall regret of ſome of thoſe of his own Religion and Fraternity in *France*. It was much about ſix Years after, that the ſame Marquiſs was entruſted with another Negotiation at the *Engliſh* Court, to no leſs pernicious an End than the former, and I fear at long run with worſe Effects. They had, my Lord, beſides

ſides the Inſtruments I have formerly mention'd, for ſome time before this, imployed ſeveral of their own *Hugonots* in *England*, for the carrying their Intrigues more effectually on among our Proteſtants; which *Hugonots* have been the more forward to pleaſe and obey the Inſtructions of their Prince and his Miniſters, in that they have believed them very compatible with their own particular Intereſts: wherefore they have done all they could to contribute to the Elevation of the Presbyterian Government in our Nation, which, becauſe the ſame with their own, they have naturally had ſome deſire to ſee eſtabliſhed in a Kingdom ſo able to protect them; and which had hitherto been the great Impediment to their Extirpation in *France*. But to return from this Digreſſion, for which I beg your Lordſhip's pardon, to the Marqueſs *de Ruvigny*; his Inſtructions were to endeavour to poſſeſs the Proteſtants in general in our Nation, who were now, my Lord, full of Fears of ſome ſecret Deſigns a brewing between the two Kings, in prejudice to their Religion and Civil Rights too, that they needed not to be ſo much concerned at Appearances; that it was far enough from the Thoughts of his Maſter to make their King great, to his Subjects prejudice; and that he was not ſo zealous for the *Roman* Religion, as they might imagine: whereof he was to urge ſeveral Inſtances, and to endeavour to throw off all the *Odium* from him upon the Pope and Court of *Rome*; and thereby make them level all their Fears, Jealouſies, and odious Reflections that way; to the end, that by the Royal Church-Party, who had the King's ear, they might ſtill ſecure him further in their Intereſts, and have their helping-hand to carry on thoſe Points they aimed at that way, *viz.* the hindring the Princeſs's matching with the Prince of *Orange*, and the Offenſive Alliance ſo much fear'd then and now with the *Confederates*, &c. But this was but one Party of the Proteſtants; his Inſtructions alſo were to make a particular Intereſt among the Diſſenters, and ſuch as inclined to them at the ſame time, that in caſe they were defeated in the one, and ſaw no likelihood of ſta-

ving

ving off the other, they might have them ready prepared to enter the Lists against the former. And when War was ready to be declar'd against *France*, to push them on, if possible, to raise a Civil Combustion at home, and to insinuate unto them, That the King his Master was willing privately to assist them as his Predecessor had done theirs in the late Civil Wars, upon occasion, *&c.* In which sort of Negotiation the Marquis was effectually enough seconded by his Countrymen *Hugonots* then in *England*; and particularly by a Man of singular Parts and Learning, and exceedingly well versed in Intrigue, named Monsieur ———. But on the contrary, in case they should have been able by the Royal Party to have been strong and successful enough to gain the two said Points, and hinder both the Match and the War, which was their Business, and is still in part to oppose; they had Orders to have the same dissenting Party still ready, when King *Lewis* and his Cousins of *England*, should have had that part of their ends of the conforming Party, to make use of them against them, if they would not humour them so far as to suffer themselves to be carried quite back to *Rome*.

And because all our Protestants, however differently denominated, should take no umbrage at any of this Court's Proceedings, they thought fit once more, to let their *Sun*, as they so often term him, to cast some warm Beams on the *Hugonot* Party at home, and to entertain them awhile with some Courtly Smiles, whereby they designed to amuse our People; and at the same time make their own Protestants to be their Instruments to carry on the Divisions of those, who, while united, are their only Protectors. For hitherto, while they have had War with the Confederates, and chiefly with *Holland*, and are in fear of one with *England*, it being yet out of their power to destroy these People, they have thought it their Interest not to exasperate them, whereby they may be tempted to run over to the Enemy; but rather for the present to court them, and make them serviceable unto them, by working in the very

Mines,

Mines, which in all human Probability are designed to blow them up withal. I will not intrude——When Captain *E*—— returns, I should take it as a singular Favour to receive a Line from your Lordship; and particularly your Sentiments of our Home-affairs, by him, whom I shall expect with utmost impatience: who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble Servant.

Paris, July 20. 1678. N. S.

LETTER XXXVII.

Of Prince Lobkowitz's *being disgraced by the Emperor for corresponding with the* French, *about the Year* 1674.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship cannot be ignorant, that during this intriguing in *England*, and canvassing of Designs against our King and Kingdom, the War went on of this side with various Success. But I find *England* is not the only Country that has been bubbled by the *French* Emissaries, and had its Secrets betray'd; I cannot tell any one part of the Confederates that have been exempted: But *Germany* more particularly has suffered in this kind variously, but in nothing so remarkably, as in the Business of Prince *Lobkowitz*'s being disgraced sometime since by the Emperor; and which has made so much noise in the World, that your Lordship could not but hear of it. That he corresponded with this Court, there is nothing more certain; tho when the Business was once suspected, their Emissaries thought it advisable to be the first Rumourers of it, but related the same with Particulars

lars ſo extraordinary, that were ſcarce credible, that thereby they might turn the whole at length into a Ridicule. But the way of their Correſpondence with the ſaid Prince, and others in the Empire, was ſo intricate to be fathomed, that 'tis no wonder the Matter has been as it were dubious in the World to this day: for little did the Counſellors of State, and other Princes and Grandees at the Court of *Vienna* think, that thoſe very *Jews* who ſold them Jewels, Pearls, and other rich Moveables, were wont at the ſame time to bring and carry Letters to the forementioned Prince *Lobkowitz*, and other vile Traitors to the Emperor and Empire. And tho theſe ſort of Vermin have been baniſhed the Emperor's Territories and Dominions, yet for filthy lucre-ſake, to which they are addicted above any Nation or People under Heaven, and to ſerve the *French*, whom above any other they value for the Reaſons I have formerly given your Lordſhip upon another occaſion; they make no ſcruple of aſſuming thoſe Shapes which they outwardly would moſt ſeem to abhor, and whoſe Principles they have disbeliev'd above theſe ſixteen hundred years, I mean Chriſtians; and to this day drive on the old Trade.

But our private Minutes relating to this Country, and which I have had the opportunity lately a little to inſpect, tell us poſitively, That at leaſt two of the Emperor's own Confeſſors of the Jeſuitical Order, the much more dangerous Traitors than any other could be, were guilty of the ſame Crime. The next year after the Diſgrace of this Prince, happen'd that memorable Succeſs the Emperor's Forces had upon the *Rhine* againſt the *French*; but it is no leſs memorable, after ſuch a ſignal Victory againſt the Mareſhal *de Crequi*, &c. that *Montecuculi*, the Imperial General, ſhould, after he had beſieged *Sabern*, and was in a fair way to carry the Place, ſo ſuddenly riſe from before it, repaſs the *Rhine* with his whole Army, and leave the *French*, after all, wholly in poſſeſſion of *Alſatia*, where he might eaſily have winter'd his whole Army. The World were then, and have

ever

ever since been occasionally very busy about the reason of this Action, which is very unaccountable to this very day. It was whisper'd then, that *Montecuculi* was so far from offering to do this of himself, that he had expres orders from the Emperor, or at leastwise from *Vienna*, to do it; and which he obeyed with a great deal of Reluctancy and Ill-will. But little have the World thought that it was chiefly the Influence which Father *la Chaise* had over the Emperor's Confessor, that produc'd those positive, tho most noxious Orders: so far the Minutes mention that Affair, and no farther. I would not have troubled your Lordship with these Foreign Affairs, had I been supply'd with any that was domestick: Tho I hope, they are not so unacceptable but that you will freely pardon him, who is desirous to serve and honour you to the utmost of his power; and remain,

My Lord,

Paris, June 20. 1678. N.S.

Your Humble Servant.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Of the French *Ambassador's, the Mareschal* De Estrades, *and Monsieur* Colbert's *Instructions to attack Sir* William Temple *and Pensioner* Fagel, *to engage the Prince of* Orange *into the* French *Interests, and to promote the Peace.*

My Lord,

THIS Court have left no Stone unturned, either in *England* or *Holland*, in order to the winning of the Prince of *Orange* over to their Interests; but they

have met with more conſtancy in him, than could be expected from a young Prince of his years, which has plainly manifeſted him to be an Inheritor as well of the Virtues, as of the Fortune of his great Anceſtors. And when they found there was nothing to be done with him directly by any of their own Emiſſaries, they reſolved to attack him in the moſt ſenſible part, by the Miniſtry of two Perſons whom they knew he as much valued as any other on this ſide; and they were the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *William Temple*, and Monſieur *Fagel* Penſionary of *Holland*. Their Agents, in this hopeful Buſineſs, were Monſieur *Colbert*, and the Mareſchal *de Eſtrades*, their Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; who quickly began their atttack upon Sir *William*, according to the Inſtructions I find they had given them.

I. To inſinuate ſlily, what a value the *French* King their Maſter had for his Perſon and Character; and that therefore during the courſe of the Negotiation they were to enter upon, they had orders to make their Application to him. That they knew how much he was in the confidence of the King their Maſter, and of his chief Miniſters; and therefore how fitly qualify'd he was to put the Finiſhing-ſtroke to a Treaty he had had the greateſt hand to ſet on foot, and of which he muſt needs reap all the Glory. That he might reckon very much upon the Facility of the King their Maſter in that weighty Affair; but yet ſo far ſtill as to have a juſt regard had to the great Succeſſes of his Arms during the War.

II. They were to make a mien of their being fully poſſeſt of the States great Forwardneſs to ſtrike up a Peace, which their Allies muſt comply with, though they might for a time retard it: That therefore the only way they could ſee to give *Europe* Tranquillity, was for the Prince of *Orange* to interpoſe his Authority, which was ſo great with all the Allies, that they were very well ſatisfy'd in their Willingneſs to agree to whatever Terms he ſhould be reſolved on, in propoſing the Peace: That therefore in order to bring that grand Affair

fair to an happy and ſudden Iſſue, it was their opinion there was no other or better way for it, than for his Highneſs firſt privately to agree with *France* upon the Conditions, and what each Party's Propoſition ſhould be; and when that was once done, afterwards, in the courſe of the Treaty, which was to be ſuppoſed could not ſpin out to any great length of time, to draw all Matters by concert together to the Scope agreed upon between them.

III. To ſeem very confident this Method would do; but that if it ſhould ſo happen that the unreaſonable Pretences of the Allies ſhould obſtruct or delay a general Peace, that then the Prince might make uſe of the uſual Temper of the States to bring it to a ſudden Iſſue, and make a ſeparate Peace: That if the Prince purſued this Method, it would be in his power to do great things for himſelf and his Family, for which they were to produce as many Inſtances as they could of parallel caſes: And that as for what concerned the Prince's own perſonal Advantages and Intereſts, the King their Maſter had given them full power to aſſure him, That he might ſet down his own Conditions, and they ſhould be accepted.

IV. That tho they had many others, to make theſe Overtures to his Highneſs, ſome whereof they were alſo darkly to intimate; yet that they were to purſue their Maſter's Orders, which was to apply themſelves to none but to him, if he thought fit to charge himſelf with it. That they were very ſenſible of the Credit and Confidence he was in with his Highneſs, and how much deference he had to his Judgment in what concerned the publick Intereſts of the Allies at that time, as well as his own; and that if he would effectually eſpouſe that Affair, he might reckon upon what he pleaſed himſelf, from the Generoſity of the King their Maſter; whoſe conſtant Character it was, never to let the leaſt Merit go unrewarded.

But if it ſhould ſo fall out, that Sir *William* proved ſtiff in the Matter, as it ſeems he did by the ſequel, they were to turn the ſame Batteries upon Penſioner *Fagel*,

with a Variation of Phraſe and Compliment, agreeable to the Perſon and Circumſtances; and more eſpecially to try what the Force of the *French* Piſtoles might affect that way. And if Matters were carry'd ſo far as that the Prince was found to give an ear to it, then he was to be rounded briskly with what mighty things the *French* King would do for him in relation to his future Greatneſs both in *England* and *Holland*. That for his Principality of *Orange*, he ſhould have it reſtored to him again, or ſuch a Compenſation nigher home, as he would reckon on himſelf: As alſo for his Lands in *Burgundy*, and any other Loſſes, Damages, *&c.* Nay, they were ordered to offer him a very large annual Penſion, if he would have comply'd. But half theſe things were never actually propoſed, becauſe the ſaid two Miniſters, and the Prince himſelf, more than any, were as ſo many deaf Adders; for they would not ſo much as hearken to the Voice of thoſe dangerous Charmers. A rare inſtance, my Lord, to withſtand ſuch great Temptations, and not to be parallel'd perhaps in any other young Prince of our Age; as it was indeed alſo in the two Miniſters; many of whom *England*, at this time, is not over-fruitful of: I wiſh it were, our Affairs would have been in a better poſture than I hear they are, and I dread much worſe to come. I pray God avert it, and preſerve your Lordſhip from all Dangers; which ſhall ever be upon the Heart of,

My Lord,

Paris, Octob. 19. 1678. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and moſt Obedient Servant.

LETTER XXXIX.

A Summary of the French *Methods to get the Dauphin made King of the* Romans.

My Lord,

PErhaps since all the Noise of the *Western* World, at this time, is about the Affairs of *Hungary*, between the *Turks* and *Imperialists*, the Particulars whereof I need not trouble your Lordship with; it will not be amiss to look a little back, and remark what Influence this Court has had upon this War, and what Designs they have long since hatched under the Covert not only of this, but all the other Broils they have engaged *Germany* in. I find by *Patin*'s Letter so far back as 1671. that it was a Matter then not questioned, but that there had been Designs concerted to have the Dauphin created King of the *Romans*; which made me endeavour after a more particular Information in that Intrigue, which at last I have found to be inserted in this manner, according to the distinct Heads that follow.

I. All the Designs which they had concerted in the Wars between *England* and *Holland*, for the weakning and destroying them, if possible, as I have already given your Lordship a particular account of; first terminated in that ultimate end, of advancing the Dapuhin as before-mention'd.

II. The former Wars against the Confederates was attempted for the same Ends in a great measure; all their Designs against the *Spanish* Monarchy having a tendency that way.

III. Their unspeakable Pretensions in the *Palatinate*, on the behalf of Madam, the present Dutchess of *Orleans*.

IV. All their open and ſecret Practices in *Hungary*, from Arch-Duke *Joſeph*'s being made King there; and by making Overtures to another King underhand, *John Sobieski* by name, to oppoſe the Emperor therein; promiſing their utmoſt Intereſt to get that Crown and Country conferred on him and his Poſterity: rightly judging that if the Arch-Duke was baulked in *Hungary*, it was not likely he ſhould prevail in *Germany*.

V. They have now for the ſame end, their Emiſſaries in *Turky*, being partly *Jews*, and partly *Jeſuits*, who incited the *Turks* to begin the War, and to puſh it on even to the Capital of the Empire: and did at the ſame time, by other Agents, both in *Poland* and at *Venice*, all they could, that they might hinder thoſe Countries from coming into the Confederacy againſt them; as thinking themſelves cock-ſure, that if *Vienna* had once been taken, the *German* Princes would have been in ſuch a Conſternation, that, as the only Remedy, they would have called in the *French* Power to oppoſe againſt ſuch a dreadful Inundation of Infidels as would thence have followed: and for which they could have done no leſs than to have declared the Dauphin King of the *Romans*, and have made the *French* King Guardian and Protector in the interim, of the Emperor and Empire; eſpecially having the Electors of *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, either inclined for, or over-awed by them; and it being eaſy in that juncture to have forced the reſt.

This my Lord, is the Subſtance of what I have found they have projected upon this Subject from time to time, as the Circumſtances of Affairs gave way and occaſion; and nothing is more certain, than that they have had it all along in their view, to advance the Dauphin to that Dignity, which they have hitherto failed in, and I hope ever ſhall. I did not think to have entred upon this Subject, which is alſo ſomewhat remote from the Affairs of our own Country; but that the Sight of the forementioned Author excited my Curioſity, and the Fondneſs of the Diſcovery made me alſo fond to communicate the ſame to your Lordſhip, though perhaps

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no very grateful part: Which yet I truſt your Goodneſs will pardon, in him, who is,

My Lord,

Your very Humble and Obedient Servant.

Paris, Jan. 14. 1684. N. S.

LETTER XL.

Of Don John *of* Auſtria's *being hindred from taking upon him the Adminiſtration of the* Spaniſh *Affairs, in the Year* 1676.

My Lord,

IT's not long ſince I have given your Lordſhip an account of the Advances made by this Court towards a Peace; but you know, ſince that, the War went on with various Succeſſes: and perhaps your Lordſhip has heard of the Buſineſs of Don *John* in *Spain*; how he was prevented from having the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of that Country, by a Letter under the King of *Spain*'s hand, when he was juſt going to embark for the relief of *Meſſina*. There was at that time an Expectation in the Confederates of mighty things to be performed by him to their advantage, and the preventing him from a ſhare in the Government, was eſteemed generally to be a *French* Trick; and ſo it was: But I believe the Confederates were guilty of a grand Miſtake in their Expectation of him; for the *French* Memoirs ſay, *Don John* was perfectly their Creature, and that it was the violent Hatred of the Queen Mother of *Spain*, as well as a Jealouſy to have her own Power invaded, that put him beſide the Adminiſtration: That it was through his means the Matching of the King of *Spain* with the Emperor's Daughter was put by, and that with the Duke of

Orleans's Daughter effected; and that he was going to act mighty things for the *French* Intereſt, for which he had large Promiſes made him of their powerful and effectual Aſſiſtance to obtain the Crown of *Spain* for himſelf, after the Deceaſe of the preſent King; upon condition he ſhould quit the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Indies*, *Low-Countries*, and *Italy*, to the Crown of *France*: for the performance of which they had ſufficient Aſſurances from him.

I am further to obſerve to your Lordſhip from the ſaid Minutes, That they have attributed his Death to a Doſe of Poiſon adminiſtred by the Order and particular Preſcription of the Queen Mother; and that out of a fear ſhe had he would one day poiſon the King her Son: becauſe he had againſt her Will, been the Inſtrument to make the *French* Match. They further add, how true the one or the other, I will not take upon me to determine, That the Queen Mother's Hatred to *Don John* was inveterate; that ſhe had attempted once before to have ſtab'd him, and at another time to piſtol him. As for the fore-mentioned Letter from the King of *Spain*, to ſtop the *Don*'s Paſſage for *Meſſina*, they ſay it was ſent by the Inſtigation of the Duke *de Medina Celi*, then in the *French* Faction, with an Intent to make him miſs that Stroke, and ſecure him in their Intereſts, by letting him know, that it was by their Intrigue he was admitted to Court. I could further enlarge upon this Subject, did I judg it pertinent, or agreeable to your Lordſhip's humour; as I am afraid it is not: And therefore I remain,

My Lord,

Paris, July 2.
1679. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Devoted Servant.

LETTER XLI.

Of general Instructions given to the French *Agents in* England, *to carry on the* French *Designs, upon the Duke of* York's *second Marriage.*

My Lord,

THOUGH the *French* Agents in *England* have had addreſs enough to get the Match with the Duke effected according to their Deſires; yet foreſeeing that even this Point could not elude the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, they endeavour'd to make the beſt advantage they could, by making a Counterpoiſe of it to the ſaid Peace, and to a War we might afterward intend againſt them; as having thereby linked the Duke faſter to them than ever, and laid a ſure Foundation for ſuch Diſtractions, both in Church and State, as would give them large opportunity, if not to compaſs all the Deſigns they had upon us, yet at leaſt to ſecure themſelves from any great Inconveniency from us. They were not ignorant what good Effects ſeveral previous Intrigues of theirs had to our diſadvantage; they ſaw plainly the ſecond *Dutch* War had much more impoveriſh'd us than the firſt, and the ill Conduct of it much more ſunk the King's Reputation: beſides the Diviſions in the Fleet, and the Jealouſies and Factions in the Parliament, and among the People, about the Duke's Religion, produc'd him great Diſguſts every day; that the ſhutting up of the *Exchequer* had ruin'd his Credit; and his Majeſty, in proclaiming Liberty of Conſcience by virtue of his own Prerogative, and his Levity afterward in flinching from it ſo unexpectedly, had ſo diſobliged

and wounded with Jealouſy the Church of *England*, and all Patriots in Parliament tender of their Privileges, who held the Peoples Purſe-ſtrings on the one ſide, and ſo incenſed with a freſh Animoſity the baffled Diſſenters on the other; that being overwhelm'd with Debts, oppoſed by dangerous and powerful Factions, and yet bankrupt both of Mony and Credit too, they fairly concluded he could have no other recourſe but to them: which odious Remedy, they ſuppoſed, would but more and more heighten the mutual Jealouſies, and widen the Breaches, till they grew large enough for them to enter by at long-run upon ſome part of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, ſo famous hitherto for checking theirs above any other in *Europe*, ſince the Fall of the *Weſtern* Empire, from riſing to the like exorbitant Greatneſs. And now this more than magical Doſe, theſe Quacks in Policy had given us, began to work every day more and more violently, and with Symptoms more viſible, till almoſt mortal Convulſions follow'd. The ableſt Stateſman we had at the Helm, the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, was diſcarded for his Vehemency in oppoſing the ſaid ſo pernicious Match (of which I may give your Lordſhip an account another time) and others of the ſame Sentiments diſcountenanc'd; which, by the *French* Agency, begat the Prorogation of the Parliament, dangerous Factions and pernicious Fractions even among the moſt zealous Aſſertors of Monarchy, and beſt-affected Friends to the Royal Family: ſo that now imagining this Maſter-Experiment of theirs had made way for them to execute what Projects they pleaſed on our Court and People for the future, to loſe no advantage for want of Managers, they began to put their Deſigns in form, which before lay ſomewhat perplex'd and out of order. To which end they ſent over their Inſtructions to ſuch Domeſtick Agents, whom they had choſen and placed on purpoſe about the new Dutcheſs, and to their other aſſiſting Miniſters and Emiſſaries, as they thought in that Diſpoſition of both Head and Body, of both Princes and People in *England*, could not but ſucceed, and produce in due time the full Effects by their

Miſchief-

Miſchief-brooding and ambitious Conſultations. And their Inſtructions in ſubſtance were as follows.

They were now to make actual uſe of the ſeveral Parties they had, as I have hinted already, but as yet prepared to make Tools of; and to this purpoſe they were to influence them partly by *French Jeſuited* Inſtruments, partly by *French Hugonot* Agents: and of our own Nation, their Inſtruments were to be,

I. Atheiſts and looſe-principled Men, who yet could act rarely well the Zealots for that Religion or Cauſe which they were to eſpouſe.

II. Such Perſons as they found to be conceited of their Parts, and of mercenary Spirits.

III. Hotſpurs for Prerogative, and the Church of *England*.

IV. The fierceſt Spirits of the other Factions.

V. Some Bigots of the *Roman* Communion that were *Engliſh*, and particularly thoſe that had been bred up, or had travelled in their Dominions, and were well jeſuited.

VI. The leading *Iriſh* Papiſts in particular.

VII. Men ambitious of Greatneſs, or Idolizers of Mony, and that chiefly in *Scotland*.

VIII. Men diſguſtful or diſobliged.

IX. Men of deſperate Fortunes, and loſt Reputations.

Of all theſe they were with great Confidence to imploy, and highly to oblige and flatter ſome while they were for their turn, and diſoblige others; and then when they had done with them, *vice verſa*, to diſoblige and caſt off thoſe whom they had obliged and ſeemed to have truſted; and court, oblige, and receive others who were before diſobliged, knowing how to work their Ends by thoſe they diſobliged, as well as by thoſe obliged. But yet none of theſe, except ſome of the firſt ſort, were to know the whole of their Deſigns, nor be informed of any thing that looked black or villanous, or ſeemed too directly to aim at the Detriment or Deſtruction of their Country or Religion,

Religion, till ſuch time as they had a long Tryal of their Tempers, and found them fit for ſuch Attempts; or that they had got them firſt into ſuch a Correſpondence, which, though in the ultimate Intention was not malicious, but only an Effect of Zeal to their ſeveral Parties, yet would, if diſcover'd, be conſtrued reaſonable, and ſo keep them under a hank to them: and then they were to put them on ſuch Barbarities and Villanies as they thought neceſſary for their purpoſe; which, if they then refuſed, their buſineſs was to abandon them, and to imploy ſuch Inſtruments as were as bankrupt of Religion and Conſcience, as of Fortune, and would be deſperately determin'd to venture at any thing for Mony. And by theſe they were to be pretended to be detected as Traitors, and proſecuted as guilty of the Deſigns which they have been only tempted to, and ſo were to ſerve all People whom they once got within their Toil, as Occaſions and their Intereſts did require. But I ſee I have already paſs'd over the juſt Bounds of a Letter, and ſhall therefore ſubſcribe my ſelf,

My Lord,

Paris, May 5.
1681. N.S.

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER XLII.

Containing the Practices of the French *Agents, for the Amuſement of Foreign Catholicks, while they carry'd on their Deſigns againſt* England.

My Lord,

IT would be very ſtrange to think, that the Miniſters of this Court, who have had a hand almoſt in every thing relating to our Nation, ſhould not be concern'd in the Affair of the *Popiſh Plot*; but it is ſo far otherwiſe, that they have been the chief Managers and Starters of many things which have ſince come to light: nay, I am bold to ſay, That the very Actions and Intentions of almoſt all the Inſtruments of the *Engliſh* Nation, and even of ſome of the *French* themſelves, were very wide, tho villanous enough, from thoſe of the *Machivellian* Offſpring which ſet them on work. My Lord, you have heard of Father *St. Germain*, and perhaps of Father *Columbiere* too, who ſucceeded him in *England*; theſe were the Perſons, who, together with their other aſſiſting Emiſſaries, diſpoſed of Things and Parties in our Nation to favour their Deſigns in reference to the ſaid Conſpiracy; and whoſe Inſtructions, from Father *La Chaiſe*, were to take upon them to inform and preſs upon the Creatures of the Pope, and Miniſters and Creatures of other Princes of the *Roman* Communion, but of a different Intereſt from their Maſter's the *French* King, That for their parts, they were only actuated by a Zeal for the Propagation of the Catholick Religion, and the Re-union in time of ſo famous a Monarchy to the Church by gentle and peaceable Ways and Means, and chiefly for the Converſion of our two Princes ſo nearly related to their

King

King in Blood, and for whom he had ſo much Eſteem and Affection; and that their Maſter being their neareſt Neighbour, and ſeated moſt conveniently to aſſiſt them on occaſion, would with his Purſe promote all he could the quiet Converſion of all ſorts of People, that could be drawn in by the godly Eloquence of their Miſſionaries, or by the more powerful Language of Penſions with ſome; and was heartily willing to ſupply our Princes with what was needful, or might be ſo, to maintain themſelves againſt any Attempts that might be made againſt them, upon the Jealouſy or Diſcovery of any ſuch Deſign, and ſuccour them by a ſufficient Military Force too, in caſe they were likely to be reduc'd to Extremity, by an open Rebellion of their ſtubborn and diſcontented Subjects on that account: without once pretending to ſo idle and impracticable a Deſign, as ſome of them whom they ſpoke to were tutor'd to call it, as by that means to go about to make the Crown of *England* feudatory to that of *France*, or to ſtrengthen himſelf with the additional Power of *England*, with intent to incroach afterwards upon the Rights and Prerogatives of the Holy See, or give umbrage to other temporal Enemies of that Communion, or to draw any other Advantage to the *French* from the Alliance of the *Engliſh* Princes, than to be able in the quality of moſt Chriſtian King, and firſt Son of the Church, to promote the Growth of the Holy Catholick Religion in their Realms and Dominions, and make uſe of their Mediation and Friendſhip, to ballance in ſome meaſure the preſent Force of ſo formidable a Confederacy, as was lately form'd againſt him. That it was a thing ridiculous to think, or once as much as imagine, that whilſt he was in actual War with ſo many conſiderable Powers at that time, he could be ſo ſimple as to attempt *England* by Force; or if he were out of War with them, that he could as much as offer at ſo conſiderable an Enterprize upon any pretence whatſoever, without alarming them, or expecting to be oppoſed vigorouſly by them, as well as by the other Proteſtant Powers of *Europe*; or that he could be thought to be ſo raſh as

to venture on such a difficult Expedition, whilst he foresaw so powerful an Opposition.

But that indeed upon the happy Conclusion of a general and lasting Peace among the Catholick Princes, he would most willingly and readily join and concur in any Holy League with them, and contribute his full Proportion of Forces with theirs, to so glorious and laudable a Work, as would be the Restoration of the Kings of *England* to their pristine Power and Majesty, and the Holy See to its former just Authority and Jurisdiction in these famous Islands; which for so many former Ages had made so considerable and profitable a Province of the *Roman* Church. And therefore they were to desire and press them not to let any particular Interests which they had against their Master in worldly and secular Concerns, prevail with them to go about to mis-interpret or any ways obstruct their Conversion of Souls, which could be of no manner of prejudice to them in those other respects; but rather readily to concur with their Endeavours in so pious and charitable a Work, wherein they ought wholly to lay aside all distinction of Nations or Interests, and co-operate as Members of one Body, and Subjects of one universal Prince Christ Jesus, and his Vicegerent General the Pope. With which Arguments and sly Suggestions, they were to wheedle all Foreigners to at least a careless Security and Unconcernedness about the Affairs of *England*, whilst they play'd their pranks to destroy both our Religion and Government, and make us an Appennage of the *Gallican* Church and Crown; which I pray God I may never live to see, nor my Country feel, and shall ever do so whilst I am, as I am resolv'd always to be,

My Lord,

Paris, March 11.
1682.

Your Lordship's most Humble,

And most Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER XLIII.

The Arguments of the French *Emiſſaries, for the Amuſement of ſome of the native Papiſts of* England, *&c. that their Deſigns in regard to the* Popiſh Plot, *might not be prevented.*

My Lord,

HOW far the Subject-matter of my laſt to your Lordſhip hath reliſhed your Palate, I am altogether ignorant; but adventuring for once to preſume its having proved grateful, I have in this, as it were, ſubjoined thoſe Inſtructions the *French* Agents have receiv'd for the Amuſement of the native Papiſts of *England*, in order to the carrying on of their Deſigns under the Covert of the *Popiſh Plot*, againſt our native Country. To them therefore they were to uſe in ſubſtance the ſame Pretences as to the other, but with ſome further Additions; as, That the King and the Duke of *York* were both certainly gained over to the Church of *Rome*; that the moſt Leading-Men of the Kingdom, and the Men of moſt Power and Intereſt, both among the Clergy and Gentry of the Church of *England*, were popiſhly inclined, and would without all doubt come galloping over tantivy to the Church of *Rome*, when it ſhould be a proper time for the King to declare himſelf upon that Head: as being well convinced, that Monarchy and Prelacy had no other way to defend themſelves agianſt the reſtleſs and violent Practices and Efforts of the Sectaries and Republicans, and others their Adherents in the Kingdom, but by ſeaſonably re-uniting with the *Roman Catholick* Party, from their unjuſtifiable Separation and Schiſm;

Schiſm; from whence innumerable, incurable and endleſs Diviſions, Diſtractions and Factions, had proceeded. That for their Comfort and Support, it was now much otherwiſe than in the late Civil Wars againſt King *Charles* I. That the preſent King of *France* being in a condition to give their now Sovereign King *Charles* II. a moſt powerful and numerous Aſſiſtance; and being a moſt Generous Prince, and withal moſt cordially and well-affected to their King as well as to their Cauſe; there was no queſtion to be made, but he would effectually do it, without any by-ends of his own, as ſoon as a general Peace ſhould give leave: by which time things would be ripe in the Kingdom, to favour his good Intentions to go on with the Converſion of our Nation: yea, he would take care to provide a ſufficient Body of Troops for the abetting ſo hopeful a Work, in caſe there be any ſuch need of Force; but that it was reaſonably to be ſuppoſed there would need none. For that by the help of ſafer Methods and of Mony, which that great and zealous Prince would not let them want for ſo good a Work, the number of the *Roman Catholicks* muſt needs be ſo mightily encreaſed in a few years, that the King might venture to declare himſelf in their favour; and then by the voluntary return of the Church of *England* to *Rome*, their Mother-Church, and by the very dread of the formidable Power of *Lewis* the Great, who was known to be a ſure and faſt Friend to our two Royal Brothers, the other diſſenting Factions would be ſo over-power'd with the number of their Opponents, and ſo terrify'd at their Strength, that if it had not the good Effect to work them up into a Compliance, it would at leaſt into ſuch a Tameneſs, that they would neither be able to hinder, nor have the raſhneſs to oppoſe what Changes and Innovations the King ſhould afterwards have a mind to make in Church or State; and make them triumphant in *England*. And thus they were to lead them on, till they had nooſed them faſt in a Correſpondence with them: but not a Word was to be told them (till they had firſt ſounded them whether

they

they were fit to hear it) of any Design they had to subject *England*, or enslave the rest of *Europe* to *French* Tyranny; or of the Murder of King or Duke; or of both, in case they found them not pliable enough to their Instigations; or that their abominable Ends could be accomplished no other ways: to which, if they would not be compliant, they were then by those Tools to have some of their Correspondents with them discovered, and have them accused as if they had been really guilty of what they were only tempted to. And so by this means all the considerable Men of them, besides some Rascals to make Tools of, were to be drawn into a close Correspondence with *France*, and beaten quite off from any Application to *Rome*, or Correspondence with the House of *Austria*; slily insinuating that *France* was the only Power in Christendom that could preserve or support them. But the full Design they had upon the Nation (as before hinted) was a Secret imparted only to very few; nay, it was not so much as communicated to the *Jesuits* of the two *British* Nations, but kept almost to the last, as an *Arcanum* among such of them as were native *French*; except only two or three *Irish* Fathers, and some very few more of that same Nation, whom they thought averse enough to the *English* Name and Nation, to be heartily true and constant to any foreign Interest and Power capable to support and effectually to back them in the bloodiest and blackest Contrivances against their detested Conquerors. For rather than fail, to such horrid Tragedies they were determined by some means or other to proceed, if they could no otherwise effect their wicked Purposes, and could have found a way to fix the Crime, as they have projected, on some other Party and Nation. My Lord, I have been tedious, but could not avoid it: I design, without a Countermand, to transmit to your Lordship in my next, the Applications made to the Protestant Party upon the same Head; and in the mean time remain,

Paris, Mar. 17. 1682. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER XLIV.

Of the French *Artifices to amuse the Protestants of the Church of* England, *while they carried on their Designs.*

My Lord,

PUrsuant to my Resolutions in the close of my last Letter, without I received a Countermand from your Lordship, which I have not; I am to acquaint you what this Court's Maxims were, and what Methods they went upon, either to make the Protestants of the Church of *England* helpful to their Designs, or at least to do them no Disservice, and be no Obstruction to them therein. To the Clergy therefore and Gentry of the foremention'd Church, whom they imagined there was any likelihood to pervert, they were to alledg most of the same things as before, as Arguments to persuade and induce them to return to the Bosom of their Church, and would argue much from the Agreement in many things of both Religions; and were instructed sometimes not only first to insinuate and then affirm the King was actually perverted, but were moreover impudently to assert, That such and such Bishops, such and such eminent Doctors, such and such Peers of the Realm, and such and such remarkable Gentlemen, for Interest, Estates, and exquisite Parts, *&c.* were, to their knowledg, certainly and infallibly so too, tho at present but covertly: and, That a greater part of their Church (whatever they might suggest with themselves to the contrary) than they were aware of, or was easily indeed to be imagined, were of the same Sentiments; but that they were under a restraint, and durst not declare themselves to be such, for fear of the *Mobile*, and of the *Presbyterians*, and other Sectaries

taries and Republican Parties; which, like so many evil Spirits, presided over those savage kind of Animals, and stirred them as they pleased themselves against their Superiors.

But to those, *My Lord*, whom they found to be of the more inflexible sort, they were instructed to make use of great Flatteries and Compliments, and to acquaint them, that they had a great deal of reason to love the *Roman Catholicks*, as the *Roman Catholicks* had to do so by them: for that they had had for a long time the same common Enemies; had suffer'd much with them conjointly for the same Royal Cause in the late Rebellions; that their Adversaries were numerous enough to require their united Power and Strength against them; and that their Subtlety was no less to be dreaded by them, whose Effects could not be warded off without such a double Force; that there was much more Danger to the Church and State of *England*, and to the Monarchical Government, now from the Sectaries, than from their Church. For it was plain to any one that was but willing to see, that it was now no more the *Roman Catholicks* Interest, since they were out of all hopes of being the predominant Religion in the Kingdom, to act against the Church or State of *England*, under whom they had such mild Treatment; but much rather to join and fall in with them against the Sectaries and Commonwealth's-men, under whom they could never expect any thing but the utmost Rigour and Cruelty. That it being impossible for them alone to support and maintain themselves in *England* against so great a number of Sectaries, as were with the greatest Inveteracy imaginable animated against them, without the Protection of the Church of *England*, and the Monarchy, tho but by way of Connivance; it was therefore so much their Concern and real Interest, to pray for and endeavour after the Prosperity of both Parties, tho different in Persuasion; that they had no reason to fear any thing from them, nor be alarmed at the Conversions they had happen'd to make, which were so few and inconsiderable, as never to be able to do

them

them hurt, had it been so designed, as it was not. That there was no danger neither from the *French* King's Friendship or close Alliance with their King; it being the only Foreign Security, as Matters then stood, that he could have against the Intrigues and Power of the *United Provinces*; who not only ruined their Commerce by Sea, but were the only People that buoyed up and supported the Sectaries and Republican Party, and harboured and abetted all Designs both against the Church and State of *England*, under the then Monarchy: it being their inseparable Interest in all things to thwart the *English*, almost in every particular they valued themselves upon in the present Establishment. Whereas, there was no Exception to be made, but that it was his Most Christian Majesty's undoubted Advantage and fixed Interest, to cultivate by all good Offices the said Friendship and Alliance; and to avoid by all manner of means any Rupture or Mis-intelligence with *England*, and to oppose above all things the change of our Monarchy into a Republick.

In the last place, continued they, Whereas there had been for some time reports spread, not only of the Duke's, but the King himself's being of their Persuasion; they were to give out to this sort of Men, that that was only a suspicion; and as they really believed, ill-grounded enough: For though they had reason to wish them, and all Mankind else, of their opinion in that case; yet they had no such reason to think them so: but that the King's having shewed some favour to them, upon the score of their Sufferings for, and Fidelity to his Father and himself, and out of respect to the Most Christian King, with whom he was so closely ally'd, for his better Support and Establishment against the Enemies of Monarchical Government, was the only grounds People had had for such Rumours; which were industriously fomented only by the Authors of the former Fears and Jealousies against his Father, in order to get an Opportunity thereby once more to destroy the Regal Government. And that they made this noise indeed against Popery,

pery, but levelled it only at Epiſcopal and Kingly Government; not at ſuch contemptible Adverſaries as the *Roman Catholicks* were at that time of day. Then as for the Duke, they were to affirm, they thought, and had reaſon to believe, he was no more a Catholick than the King; but that being a Prince of a high and inflexible Spirit, and Heir Preſumptive to the Royal Diadem, he diſdained to be compelled by any Subjects, either to take an Oath, or give an account of his Religion, only to gratify their Humours and Fancies; and choſe rather to forbear acting in any publick Employment. But, that for their part, as he had not yet declared againſt the Church of *England*, ſo he had as yet made no profeſſion of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, as they knew of; but took care to keep himſelf as much reſerved towards them, as towards thoſe of the *Proteſtant* Perſuaſion.

By ſuch ſort of Sophiſtry and cunning Artifices, theſe *French* Incendiaries were inſtrumental to endeavour to keep up the ſtiff Church-Party in a perpetual Animoſity againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters and *Dutch* Party, as both of an opinion; and to ſtir up the Government to ſide ſtill with the *French* Intereſt againſt the Power and Growth of the one, and provide with Severity againſt the Practices of the other; in order to exaſperate, as much as poſſibly they could, the Spirits of both Parties againſt the other, and widen the Breaches beyond all poſſibility of reſtoring them again. Which how well they have already effected, is but too well known, and no leſs ſorely felt in the Bowels of the Kingdom, for me to take upon me to deſcant upon: and therefore, I ſhall forbear, and only ſubſcribe my ſelf,

My Lord,

Paris, March 28. 1682. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble Servant to Command.

LET-

LETTER XLV.

Of the French *Intrigues to raise a good Opinion in the Protestant Dissenters of* England, *of the* French *King's Proceedings, and to calumniate their own King's.*

My Lord,

I Am come to the last Body of Men within the Kingdom, whom this Court, by such like Engines as I formerly mentioned, has endeavoured to manage to serve their own turn, to the Kingdom's disadvantage; and they are the Protestant Dissenters. But they were necessitated, to give the less Umbrage, to change their Shapes and Form of Expression to those of that Party whom they had the design upon; and to whom they closely and warmly remonstrated, That they had no occasion to be jealous of the Proceedings of *France*, and be animated so fiercely against King *Lewis*, if they would but once consider the great Liberty and Privileges which their Protestant Brethren enjoy'd in the *French* Dominions; their former assisting the oppressed Protestant *Dutch*, and other Protestant States, against the bloody Inquisitors, and unchristian Inquisition; the severe Persecutions of the House of *Austria*, the frequent Differences of *France* with the Court of *Rome*, and the little Power the Pope was allow'd in the *Gallican* Church, no more than what was titular: and that if these things were but duly weighed, it might be more than presumed, the present *French* King would little concern himself, or any way intermeddle with religious Contests in *England*. But that whatever opinion they might have of that Neighbouring King to his disadvantage, which yet did but little affect

or concern him; they had on the contrary much occa- to look about them at home. And to that end these Emissaries were to promote, tooth and nail, the belief of the King and Duke's being both Papists; but particularly to affirm, that the Duke was most certainly of that Religion; and at the same time to discover assured Evidences of it: as also of the Measures concerted to bring in both Popery and Arbitrary Power, and really to detect some Measures, which themselves had as yet but only projected, or at least but proposed, and that too but to the Duke only; as if they had been fully consented to, and begun underhand to be put in practice. And having once well impreſt this, they were to exaggerate the Greatness and Imminency of the Danger, the more to alarm them; and slily to insinuate, that an Accommodation was transacting between the two Churches of *Rome* and *England*; and a thousand other Artifices they us'd besides, to animate each Party against the other, too tedious for your Lordship to read, or me to relate. Neither need I tell you how they traversed one another's Designs; only I must note, Sir *Roger L' Estrange*, and almost all the Writers for that side, under a pretence of serving the Church of *England*, and the Monarchy, and some also of the other Party, tho unknown to themselves, were, and are still, but the unhappy Tools and Instruments of *French* Jesuits and *Machiavellian* Emissaries; who were the main Conjurors, that by undiscover'd Spells have raised up those Devils of Discord, that under the Names of *Whigs*, *Tories*, and *Trimmers*, have so much disturbed our Native Country, and the Lord knows where it will terminate.

I am glad to hear your Lordship hath so well exerted the Caution and Prudence inherent in your Family in these times of Difficulty; and may it be so still: which is the hearty desire of,

My Lord,

Paris, April 8. 1682. N.S.

Your Lordship's most Humble and most Obedient Servant.

L E T.

LETTER XLVI.

Of the Duke of York's *being drawn into a close Correspondence with the* French *Court, with an Account of his Pension from thence.*

My Lord,

I Cannot think your Lordship will so much admire, that the Duke should suffer himself to engage in a close Correspondence with the *French* Court; yea, and to enter into a separate Treaty with them, when other things more unlikely have been made evident enough so as not to be contradicted. I cannot tell at present whether there be any other Particulars of this same Treaty, than what have come within my Cognizance; but so much as has, as I hope it will be acceptable, I as freely communicate; and is in substance as followeth.

First, The Duke was engaged to stick close to his Alliance with *France*, declining all Treaties with those of the House of *Austria*, and even with the Pope himself, without the *French* King's Privity and Approbation.

Secondly, To oppose to the utmost of his power the King his Brother, from engaging in any War for the Confederates.

Thirdly, To join with him, the *French* King, in making a strong Effort to draw in, if possible, the Prince of *Orange* to embrace a separate Interest from that of the States of *Holland*; and if not to come over to the *Roman* Religion, at least to enter into a separate Treaty with the Kingdoms of *France* and *England*, under a pretence of laying a sure Foundation for his own future Greatness, and establish it on both sides the Sea by the Suppression of all Factions which now disturbed his Uncle,

and might afterward disturb him; and in case he proved still obstinate, to second him in all Methods that might be used to hinder his Succession to the Crown of *England*, by hindring any Match that might be proposed between that Prince and the Princess *Mary*: And that he should for that purpose keep off matching either of his two Daughters upon several Pretences, to gain time till a fit juncture might come, when Matches might be accomplished for them both with *French* Princes, or some other Princes in that Interest; *viz.* the Eldest to the *Dauphin*, and the Younger to the Duke of *Savoy*, or a Prince of the Houses of *Conde* or *Conti*, or to the Duke of *Modena*.

Fourthly, That the Duke should do his utmost to have the Government of his Children himself, and to have them tutor'd, if possible, in his own Religion; and if they were obstinate, in case he should fail of other Issue, then they would have him to exclude them, and adopt the Duke of *Chartres* for his Heir (but this was only propos'd) and intail the Crown thenceforward to Heirs Male only, and to have the *Salique* Law established in *England*, as well as in *France*. And if he should not be powerful enough to hinder a Match with the Prince of *Orange*, or some other Protestant Prince (but of the former they were most jealous) then to concur with them to cut him off: but this Point would not be formally assented to neither.

But all Points proposed were on his part easily assented to; as doing his utmost for the Propagation of the Catholick Religion, pursuing Measures concerted for dividing of Protestants, undermining of Parliaments, and putting forward Arbitrary Counsels without reserve; and particularly to raise Arms in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and call in *French* Forces, in case the King should at any time, by any Motives whatsoever, be influenced to act to the *French* King's prejudice.

Lastly, The Duke was to take care, that no Popish Clergy or Laity should be employ'd by him, but such as were in the *French* Interest, and trust his main Secrets

with

with none but ſuch as were *French*-born Jeſuits; on which Conditions he was to have a conſiderable Annuity of ſix hundred thouſand Crowns, and extraordinary Sums when neceſſary, and the Circumſtances of things did require to carry on any of the forementionʼd Points, even to what he pleaſed himſelf to demand.

So all things being thus concluded, he receivʼd in hand three hundred thouſand Crowns of his Annuity, and ſix hundred thouſand Crowns extraordinary; and *Jewiſh* Bankers were accordingly imployʼd to tranſmit the Mony to him from time to time: beſides all which, the *French* King's Confeſſor promiſed him a private Contribution from the Clergy, and others under his Influence, of ſix hundred thouſand Crowns more. But notwithſtanding all theſe mighty Promiſes, and other more magnificent ones, that he ſhould not want five or ſix Millions of Livres at any time, to bring a Deſign to perfection when once he had made a progreſs; their Notes ſay, That private Directions were given to feed him only with ſuch mean Pittances as would but juſt enable him to keep himſelf up, and perſuade him ſtill to go on, to perplex matters, or *Broviller les Cartes*, as they term it, raiſe and exaſperate Factions and Parties, but never to proceed ſo far as totally to ſuppreſs any, leſt he ſhould make himſelf too much Maſter, and by that means be able to ſet up for himſelf, without their further Aid and Concurrence, or have any Mony to ſpare and lay up for his own uſe, or to imploy in private Cabals againſt them.

The ſame Method they uſed, my Lord, with moſt of their other Penſioners among the *Engliſh* Popiſh Party; but to all their other Inſtruments, they were moſt liberal and punctual, till ſuch time as they had no further uſe of them, and had a mind to turn them off, and provoke them, as we have ſaid, to uſe their Talents on a contrary ſide. Pardon, I beſeech your Lordſhip, my Prolixity, and interpret it for a Willingneſs to ſerve you, as it really is, in him who is,

My Lord,
Your moſt Humble,
and moſt Devoted Servant.

Paris, Jan. 28. 1680. N. S.

LETTER XLVII.

Of the Dutcheſs of York's *being gain'd entirely to the* French *Intereſts; with an Account of the Propoſals ſhe aſſented to.*

My Lord,

HAving gain'd the Duke over into their Intereſts, ſo far as to aſſent to the Performance almoſt of every Propoſal to him on their part, as I have in my laſt ſet forth at large to your Lordſhip; the next ſtep was to bring in the Dutcheſs, his now Conſort, into the ſame or worſe Nooſe: who being an adopted Daughter of *France*, and of the Feminine Gender, they found no hard Task to effect. And after ſome tampering, they at laſt prevail'd ſo far, as to perſuade her to diſcover to them from time to time her Husband's greateſt Secrets, and never to let him reſt, but be inceſſantly teazing him till ſhe had extorted all that was worth knowing or communication from him; not to fail to tranſmit unto them an account from time to time of the Mony the Duke receiv'd from them, how he ſpent it; to uſe all the Influence ſhe had over him, to perform with utmoſt exactneſs all the Points of his Agreement with them, but more particularly that part which related to the Duke's Daughters; and finally, to ſecond effectually the Means which they ſhould preſcribe her at any time about giving an *Italian* Fig to the King, either of the two Princeſſes, or all of them, if it were thought requiſite, as the Cauſe of Religion, her own main Intereſt of ſecuring the *Engliſh* Throne in the Succeſſion of it to her Husband and her own Iſſue, ſhould neceſſarily require, without concerning the Duke her Husband at all in the ſaid Intrigue: in conſideration of her compliance wherein, ſhe was likewiſe

wiſe to have an Annuity aſſign'd her, but the definite Sum is not mention'd; and whether ſhe had Sons or Daughters to live, ſhe, as far as lay in her power to promote it, was to aſſent to have them match'd to the moſt apparent of the Royal Family of *France*, if there were any ſuch for them; or into ſuch other Princely Families as were moſt ſuitable for them in the Judgment of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who did oblige himſelf to take a Paternal Care of them, and would ever keep his Royal Word by the exacteſt Performance. I do not queſtion but theſe things are a Trouble to your Lordſhip; tho I am apt to perſuade my ſelf, you would not willingly be without the perfecteſt Intelligence of them that you can get, wherein I have had the Honour, and ſhall always think my ſelf happy to ſerve you in any the leaſt degree, and am proud of the Opportunity to ſubſcribe my ſelf once more,

My Lord,

Paris, Jan. 12. 1680.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble,

and moſt Obedient Servant.

LETTER XLVIII.

Containing a general Account of Parties engaged in French *Intereſts, and of their Deſigns; but more particularly of one* Kelly *a Prieſt,* &c.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip will not now wonder, when ſuch as I have mention'd in ſome of my late Letters have plung'd themſelves ſo deeply in *French* Suds, that

others ſhould be ſo eaſily drawn into their Intereſts; I am to acquaint you therefore, That this Court had, according to their Projection, gain'd the moſt conſiderable *Roman Catholicks* in the Three Kingdoms, by fair and ſpecious Pretences, to comply even to every thing they deſired of them, as thinking King *Lewis* to be a moſt generous Prince, that had no By-ends in it, but as he was moſt able, was moſt willing to promote the Propagation of that Religion, and the reinſtating their King in a Condition to protect them, out of a pure piece of Honour and Zeal for the Catholick Faith, as they were wont to word it: who therefore moſt willingly enter'd into a Correſpondence with his Agents and Emiſſaries, and ſome of them took Penſions, but I cannot give your Lordſhip a Liſt of their Names at this juncture. But moſt of that Kidney acted freely, in uſing all the Endeavours they poſſibly could to induce both King, Duke, *&c.* to a compliance with them in all things they had Inſtructions to move to them and ſollicite for; as they had long done themſelves in the Points I have already mention'd to your Lordſhip, and which I need not repeat. But though they deſign'd, if either one or both of the Royal Brothers ſhould diſoblige them too much, eſpecially the King, or that any Juncture of things, or grand Conveniency of theirs, ſhould perſuade to proceed to ſome barbarous Extremity againſt the Perſons of one or both of them; yet they thought not good to truſt any *Britiſh* Papiſts with any thing ſo black, no not ſo much as their Jeſuits, but took particular heed to reſerve theſe Myſteries to another Cabal, having provided for that a Juncto of Foreigners and *Iriſh*, for the taking off the King, if things came to that Extremity. And as for the Duke, they ſeem'd not much afraid of him, and therefore made no ſuch exact Proviſion; but they knew of ſome two or three deſperate *Fanaticks*, whom they had in reſerve for that purpoſe, and they were of the *Scotch* Nation: and if the King alone was to be taken off, then the Dutcheſs's Cabal, in conjunction with that of *Portſmouth*, were to engage in it; but if things came

to that extremity, as that both Brothers were to be remov'd, then *Portſmouth*'s Gang was only to be employ'd, without the Concern or Privity of the other. And this laſt Cabal of *Portſmouth*'s was compos'd of *French* and *Iriſh* Jeſuits, and jeſuited Popiſh Bigots.

But among them there was a certain Prieſt named *Kelly*, who was a long time Banker to the Cabal, and is ſtill, I believe, on this ſide the Water; and coming to hear, by the Correſpondence he held with his Complotters in *England*, there were ſome who ſcrupled ſuch Undertakings, he went over, ſaying, He would procure enough to do either of the Works, if occaſion were. I had once a Bill upon him for a Friend of mine, and then I remember he rail'd mightily againſt both King and Duke, and ſaid they were both Knaves, Fools and Cowards; for that having forſaken the *French* Intereſt, they would be ruin'd, and ſee all their Kingdoms quickly in flames; that it was an eaſy matter for the King of *France* to do it; that it would very quickly be effected, and be a moſt laudable Action; and would, he hoped, end in the total Subjection of the Three Kingdoms to the *French* King's Power, which he heartily wiſhed for his poor Country's ſake, ſo tyrannized over by Hereticks; with abundance more of ſuch Stuff: but I knew not then he was ſo deeply concern'd as afterward, when I found his Name for an Undertaker in *Portſmouth*'s Cabal. One Father *Patrick* alſo, who uſed often to go and come, and was wont to conceal his Intriguing under a peculiar Appearance, was another of the ſame Cabal, with two or three *French* Men, whoſe Names I have not at preſent. Your Lordſhip will pardon this imperfect Account, and judge favourably of his Endeavours, who deſires nothing more than to gratify your Expectation; who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Jan. 19.
1680. N.S.

Your Honour's moſt Humble

and Devoted Servant.

LETTER XLIX.

Of the Private Treaty between King Charles *the Second and the* French *King*, Anno 1676.

My Lord,

I Have already, upon two ſeveral Occaſions, obſerv'd to your Lordſhip, how the Duke and Dutcheſs were drawn into private Correſpondences with the *French* Court; which when they had once happily effected, and by them and ſome others, already in their Intereſts, (whereof I have mention'd ſome) drawn in many more both Courtiers and others; they proceeded, being thus ſo conſiderably reinforc'd, to hedge in the King himſelf. And it was high time, for they had now a greater Jealouſy than ever of the Match with the Prince of *Orange*, though he were not yet come over into *England* to that purpoſe: and ſo far they did prevail, that he obliged himſelf to do all he could to obſerve ſtill a partial Neutrality with them. Then they propoſed his hindring the Match with the Prince of *Orange*, unleſs he could be drawn into a ſeparate Treaty with the two Kings, and delay at all matching of the Princeſſes till a general Peace, and to reſerve the eldeſt for the *Dauphin*; though in the mean while they promiſed the Duke of *Bavaria* the ſame Advantage for his Daughter, the better to keep him in a Neutrality with them during the then War with the *Confederates*, but never intended it with the latter, if they could have effected it with our Princeſs. But in that the King told them, there might be Difficulties inſuperable, and ſo could promiſe them nothing but his Endeavours, which by reaſon the Parliament and People were much out of humour, upon the Duke's late Match,

would

would require much Mony; becauſe now for him to go about to croſs them afreſh, in obſtructing, or ſo much as delaying ſuch a Match, the Propoſal whereof was already ſo much known to his People, and found to be ſo much deſired by them, as the only Remedy they imagin'd they had left them againſt the feared Miſchief of the other, would hinder them perhaps from granting him ſuch Supplies as he might otherwiſe expect of them; unleſs his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty obliged himſelf to ſupply him with Mony enough to need them not, or at leaſt to buy Votes, and to ſtop clamorous Mouths. But as for that Motion of theirs about committing the Children to the Duke's Care and Tutorage, though they were ſeconded in it by the Duke himſelf with all the Importunity imaginable, yet he abſolutely deny'd them, ſaying, They were his Children, or rather the Nation's, and not the Duke's, eſpecially now he had matched ſo much againſt the Nation's liking; and that could he have believ'd the People of *England* would have taken ſo much alarm at that Marriage, he ſhould have taken care to have ſtopped it in time: but that having let one Fault paſs, to admit another much worſe, was a thing he doubted not but would cauſe ſuch Earthquakes, as he was reſolv'd not to run the riſque of, therefore ſhould not do it. So that Article was wholly laid aſide, and the Treaty concluded without it; by which the *French* King was to pay ours an Annuity of twelve hundred thouſand Crowns, whereof ſix hundred thouſand in hand, beſides a Donative of a like Sum at the ſame time for Extraordinaries: and if any occaſion ſhould happen by Croſſneſs of Parliaments, Rebellion, or otherwiſe, that ſhould reaſonably require ſo much, then he was promiſed to have it augmented to twelve Millions of Livres, whilſt ſuch Troubles ſhould laſt; though this latter part they never intended, but gave orders he ſhould be treated only with a Bit now and then, as was the Duke his Brother; only if a Civil War ſhould happen, they were to feed it on both ſides, till it were fit to pour in *French* Forces among them, *&c.* Yet I have obſerv'd, during my A-

bode in this Station, that there was a Fund of twenty Millions of Livres design'd for our three Kingdoms, whereof sometimes they gave largely to the King and Duke his Brother, and slenderly to the several Factions, only to keep them in heart; and sometimes again largely to them, and little or none to the King and Duke, to make the former lusty and mettlesome, to kick and keep the others low, that being in a crowing condition, they might comply with them. Of those Sums, there have gone some Years four, sometimes six, and sometimes eight Millions to *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but to the King and Duke, there never went more than I have mention'd, and that but the first Year neither: all the rest went to Courtiers, and to the several Factions, who of late have had most of it.

In this Treaty, which was concluded by a private Agent, as were the others, there was a Clause inserted, which gave the King leave, if too much press'd upon, to pretend as if he would side with the *Confederates* against *France*, and to get Mony of them, as also of his Parliament on that account; yet he was by no means to declare, but to get an Army and Revenue settled for some time, such as was suppos'd to be the Duration of the War, and then to use both the one and the other to settle his Prerogative Royal, and make himself absolute, *&c.* I cannot, my Lord, without some Reluctancy, think of several Passages in this Epistle, and particularly, that a King who above twenty Years had had the greatest Opportunity of any of his Predecessors, to make himself great both at home and abroad, should fall to so abject a State, as to become a *French Pensioner*; which, without the Addition of any other Crime, is more than enough eternally to blast the Memory of an *English* Monarch: but I know this Subject can be ungrateful to no one alive more than to your Lordship; and therefore I shall forbear further insisting upon it, and remain,

My Lord,

Your Honour's to Serve and Obey.

Paris, Jan. 27. 1680. N. S.

LET-

LETTER L.

Of King Charles *the Second's Politicks upon his entring into the forementiond private League with* France, *as represented by the* French *Court.*

My Lord,

IN my laſt, your Lordſhip had the Subſtance of the *Private League* enter'd into by our King and this Court; it may not be now unworthy your Curioſity to know the Cenſure they have paſs'd upon him in relation to that Head: they have ſaid, they underſtood well enough, that whatever their Deſign might be in obtaining ſuch a point, the King's, and his Brother's too upon them, was to draw as much Mony out of them as they poſſibly could thereby, and yet not to venture too far on any of thoſe important and tickliſh Points propoſed, without very large Sums to ſecure every ſtep made forward, and that by Advance too: for they both concluded, that the beſt and only way to make the *French* ſtick cloſe to them, was, to be always conſiderably before-hand with them; not without reaſon, as they imagin'd, fearing, that if they were not ſtill before-hand, when they had engag'd them in Difficulties, and ſaw them faſt, they would leave them in the lurch. As for the King, though they knew him to be no more a Papiſt than he was a Politician, yet he was of the Opinion, if the Popiſh Religion could be handſomly made predominant, it might ſuit better with the Monarchy; yet having no Children to ſucceed him, that he was but careleſs in that point, and his Brother only being concern'd in that matter, he moved only as he was ſpurred on by his Importunity, the Temptation of Mony, the Diffidence

he had of his People, and among others, the Fears he had either of having his Days ſhortned, or his Crown very much endanger'd by the Intrigues of his Brother, or the *French* King, ſhould he not keep fair, and humour them both in ſome tolerable meaſure, ſince he found himſelf ſo far intangled in their Snares. For as to his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that he had no Averſion for him, but rather an Inclination through Nature and Policy, and therefore was of himſelf willing enough the Match ſhould go on; yet that he would have been glad, if the Prince could have been drawn over to the *French* Intereſt, for that then he thought he would have compaſſed many deſirable Ends in one Buſineſs, and made a very great Advance to have ſatisfy'd all Parties in the greateſt part of their ſeveral Pretenſions; becauſe that then he ſuppoſed he could have ſatisfy'd the *French* King, in bringing over a Prince to his Intereſt, ſo very capable to ſerve him in that juncture of time; that he would have ſatisfy'd alſo thoſe of his own Subjects, who were well affected to the *Engliſh* Monarchy, as he would have likewiſe our trading Companies, by marrying our Princeſs to a Prince of the *Proteſtant Religion*, whom he, by ſeparating from the Intereſts of the States of *Holland*, and drawing into a League with two great Kings, ſhould have put into a condition to depreſs that Republick, which was ſo ill a Neighbour to the Monarchy, ſo much our Rival in Trade, and ſo great a Fomenter of the Schiſms and Factions in *England*: that thereby he ſhould have laid Grounds to hope, that if ever he ſucceeded to thoſe Crown, he might be able to ſubject the *Belgick* to the *Britiſh Lions*, and transfer the Magazine of the Riches of the World from the *Netherlands* into *England*; and that he thought to have ſatisfy'd the Duke, his Brother, in a great meaſure, by ſo ſatisfying his Friend the *French* King, and likewiſe by depreſſing a Republick ſo well ſituated and inclin'd to abet his deadly Enemies, that in all appearance would way-lay his Succeſſion to the Throne; and thereby cutting off all occaſion from that Malecontent Party, that

conti-

continually ſought occaſion to ſtir up againſt him the old Devils of Fears and Jealouſies of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. And that he thought to oblige the Prince too, by putting him into a Method to become a Sovereign in time. And laſtly, that he was perſuaded, if the Prince comply'd with thoſe Methods, the Match could diſoblige no body but the States of *Holland*, and the ſympathizing Factions of the Sectaries in *England*, and the Republicans, whom he thought inconſiderable: but that how deſirous ſoever he was of ſuch a Compliance with *France*, as they wiſh'd; yet it was not in his Inclination to break the Match, for that he having in reality a much greater mind to the Alliance with the Prince of *Orange*, than to that with the *Dauphine*, in which he did imagine he foreſaw unſurmountable Difficulties, and ſuch as might endanger, if not overturn his Throne, ruin his Brother, and the whole Royal Family, and at laſt make *Great Britain* but a *French* Province; however, that knowing the Temper of the Duke, his Brother, and the vindicative Humour of the *French* King, he was willing to ſeem almoſt all complaiſant, and temporize for a while, whereby he might appeaſe them, and at the ſame time get what Mony could be drawn from *France*, both for his own Security and Pleaſure: and when he had done that, that he knew wheeling about and concluding the Match, when they leaſt thought of it, or expected it, would pleaſe his People again, though never ſo unſatisfy'd by the Delay. Theſe, my Lord, are the Sentiments of this Court concerning him; which, if true in all points, I conceive they are more beholden to him, than many Perſons in *England* are willing to believe of him: but I ſhall leave it to your Lordſhip's profound Judgment, to revolve upon the Particulars; and remain,

My Lord,

Paris, Feb. 1. 1680. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Devoted Servant.

LE

LETTER LI.

Of the Duke of York's *Politicks, upon his entring into a close Correspondence with* France, *as the* French *Politicians represent them.*

My Lord,

AS I have transmitted to your Lordship the exactest Particulars I could learn concerning the King's entring into a private Treaty with *France*, and in my last the Censure of this Court thereupon; I have also, to the best of my remembrance, given you likewise an Account of the Duke's being drawn into a close Correspondence with them some time before: but whether it were that the Ministers on this side conceiv'd such a Judgment of the King, as I have already related, and such of the Duke, which I am just about to relate, I cannot positively determine. But thus it is they censure him, saying, That though he was so much a Bigot in Religion, that he was totally averse to the *Aurangian Alliance*, unless it could be reconcil'd to those Ends which he proposed to himself thereby, and especially about replanting both the *Popish Religion* and *Absolute Power* in the three Kingdoms, and incline rather to the Match suggested with the *Dauphin*, with an intent the more friendly to oblige his most Christian Majesty to assist him through all the Difficulties he foresaw he had to pass; yet he was not a little afraid of the great Resistance he knew would necessarily be made against such an Alliance, which many in *England* look'd upon as the most pernicious that ever could befal their Nation: being also of himself not a little jealous, that if once such a Match between his eldest Daughter and the *Dau-*

phin

phin were concluded, ſome ſly Practices might be carry'd on by the *French* Court againſt the Iſſue he ſhould have by his now Dutcheſs, in favour of that his Daughter might probably have by the *Dauphin*. And therefore that he was much more willing and deſirous, if it might be compaſſed, that a Match might in time convenient be concluded between his ſaid Daughter rather and his Dutcheſs's Brother, the Duke of *Modena*, or ſome *Italian* Prince, of no Power enough to be apprehended to entertain any ſuch Deſigns; and that as much *French* as ſhe was before, his Dutcheſs was now of the ſame Sentiments too, being married, and in hopes of a numerous Iſſue by the Duke. Theſe are all the Particulars I have hitherto met with, in relation to the Duke and his Dutcheſs's Sentiments; and with which I conclude, who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Feb. 14. 1680. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Obedient Servant.

LETTER LII.

Of Coleman's *Intelligence, and private Correſpondence with* France, *to the King and Duke's diſadvantage; and his Motions and Pretenſions for Mony.*

My Lord,

WHEN I acquainted your Lordſhip with the Cenſure paſt by this Court upon the King and Duke's Sentiments, in reference to their League and Correſpondencies with them, and eſpecially the Buſineſs of the Match; I could neither determine whether it were purely their

their own Suggestions, collected from the Circumstances and natural Positions of things as they then stood, which I was inclin'd to, or to some secret Information from another hand; but now I find the latter to be true. For whatever the King, Duke and Dutchess's true Sentiments were, they were represented underhand by *Coleman* to the *Juncto* here, and by some other self-ended Confidents of theirs, of whom, but more particularly of Mr. *Coleman*, I find it thus inserted in our Minutes: That being enter'd into a close and separate Correspondence of his own with this Court, besides that known to their Highnesses, whose Agent he was, he was therein to give them Intelligence of all that was transacted at *White-Hall* and *St. James's*, that possibly he could; but more especially of the Comportment of the King and the Duke, as to the Points agreed on between *France* and them; as also of the Disposition of all the Factions in *England*, and of the Foreign Ministers, *&c.* to oblige himself to make Parties to cross his Master, the Duke, or the King, or both; in case either, or both of them, should go about to deviate from the Measures prescrib'd them by the *French* Court.

I find, my Lord, he was besides this a great Undertaker for Conversions, and proselyting Men to *Rome*, or rather *France*; and his Agreement with them was to have allow'd him as an Annuity the Sum of twenty thousand Crowns punctually to be paid, and for Extraordinaries, as should be calculated, according to the Emergency of the Occasions. His Pretences for Conversions were manifold, and extravagant enough in the Relation of them; and he did slily at first insinuate, and when he had once broke the Ice warmly urged, That whereas the Duke had very large Remittances made him upon the account of Conversions, wherein he was an Undertaker; that it were more advisable, for the future, to entrust him with a moderate Sum for that purpose, and thereby save themselves that deal which they must have sent to the Duke upon that account, if they should send any; and so moved them, entirely to wave that Point with him,

him, for that he could do much more in that nature, than the Duke could ever pretend to, becauſe more imperceptibly.

He promiſed them likewiſe, for the gaining of Members of Parliament over to their Intereſt, great and mighty things; and then diſcreetly inſinuated thoſe things already ſpoken of, about the Deſigns of the King and Duke towards them; and thereupon adviſed them to tranſmit unto them both only but moderate Sums, and let him have but moderate ones, according to a private Man's Fortune, and he would take effectual care both to manage them, and do their buſineſs in *England* more to the purpoſe, than they would do without him.

He alſo added, That to give the King and Duke great Sums, would be no other than to enable them to buy the Parliament's Votes for themſelves, and not for the Intereſt of *France*, and to get ſuch ſtore of Mony of them, that they would afterward take ſuch meaſures as they themſelves pleaſed, without any regard to *France*, being ſure to pleaſe the People at any time whenever they were minded to go contrary to them; and much matter to the ſame purpoſe, with which I ſhall no farther trouble your Lordſhip, but ſubſcribe my ſelf, as I unfeignedly am, and ever ſhall be,

My Lord,

Your moſt Obedient and

moſt Humble Servant.

Paris, Feb. 28.
1680. N.S.

LET-

LETTER LIII.

The Duke of York *moves the* French *Court for Money, according to the private Agreement.*

My Lord,

YOU have heard what a Spoke Mr. *Coleman* was pleaſed to put in the King's, and even the Duke his dear Maſter's Wheel; which they, poor Princes, knowing nothing of, moved hard for the Sums promiſed by *France*: the Duke, as ſuppoſing his Credit the better, being the forwarder of two, and whoſe Pretences were, that he had been forced to lay out by advance the greateſt part of the Mony already pay'd to make Creatures for their mutual Intereſt, and future Advantage; all ſuch Enterprizes being much more chargeable to begin, than to carry on and perfect. That when Correſpondencies were begun, they muſt be carry'd on, and that ſtill by advance, if any thing of ſervice were expected, or hoped for.

That he had a moſt difficult and uneaſy Task to deal with the King his Brother's timorous and changeable Diſpoſition; and was and had been at a very great Expence to greaze Favourites of more kinds than one, that might influence and perſuade him to, and hinder others that might diſſuade him from what they in *France* did expect from him, or urged him to; as alſo to appeaſe and quell Enemies on all ſides, which his late Match with their adopted Daughter, and Change in Religion had ſtirred up violently againſt him: and that to keep the King, his Brother, ſteddy in a favourable Neutrality in regard to *France*, and yet at the ſame time either break off the Match quite with the Prince of *Orange*, defer it ſo long as they deſired, or negotiate a private

Treaty

Treaty with that Prince in their favour, and to their advantage, with that Power and good Effect desirable, required, as they might well imagine, more than ordinary Sums of Mony, and all ready, and in Specie too.

But that if besides his ordinary Allowance, according to the Agreement which he expected should be punctually paid him every six Months, he could but have a Sum of a Million of Crowns again seasonably advanc'd him for Extraordinaries, before the time of the next Prorogation of the Parliament were expired; then he did believe he might bring matters so to bear, by such a Reinforcement, as to be able to gain Votes enough even in the Parliament it self, to carry against all others, both in respect to the Neutrality, and to the gaining their Consent for deferring any Foreign Alliance, by way of Marriage of either of his Daughters, till a General Peace was concluded; and work very much with the Prince of *Orange* to comply with their Desires, when he should see the Parliament gave him no hopes otherwise of compassing his Aims; or if not, yet at least he should be able hereby to keep himself still strongest in the Privy Council, and in the Court, where nothing should be transacted to their disadvantage.

That both his own Friends and theirs had been so very successful, and made such wonderful Progresses in Conversions of all Sorts and Ranks of People, as that of such and such Peers of the Realm (I will not say your Lordship was one named among the rest) such and such Courtiers, and Members of Parliament, *&c.* that such and such Bishops, eminent Doctors in Divinity, and other dignify'd Clergy; and such and such Gentlemen, who were remarkable for Interest and Estates, or eminent for exquisite Parts, though they have learnt here since there was nothing more false, were either already converted, and quite brought over, or extraordinarily well inclin'd; and that there was no doubt to be made of it, but by an Augmentation of about four or five hundred thousand Crowns more for the Cause and Interest of Religion, they might be able so to dispose of the greater

and

and more noted part of the conforming Church of *England*, which was the main of their Work, as to bring them over to their Religion; yea, and even to declare for it publickly too, as ſoon as they ſhould be freed from the Fears of the *Engliſh* Mobile, and of the Fanatical Sectaries, and ſee a General Peace concluded, and the King himſelf declare for it, being back'd with ſo powerful a Prince as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was; That however many of them were already brought over to the *French* Intereſt againſt the *Dutch*, and many more might be ſo, if timely Liberality were offer'd: with many other Allegations, ſet off with *Coleman*'s uſual Flouriſhes, on the behalf of his Maſter, though he had countermined all before, as I have already hinted. And laſtly, that he had once more attack'd the King, his Brother, as to Religion, and that with great hopes; and that if he could have but Mony enough to carry on the Point with the Church of *England*, he queſtion'd not, but by that time a General Peace were negotiated, his Majeſty would be induc'd to declare too; when, beſides his Support abroad from the moſt Chriſtian King, he ſhould ſee himſelf back'd by almoſt all his Royaliſts, then numerous enough in the Nation, and ſo great, yea, more than a Probability of an Accommodation between the two Churches of *Rome* and *England*, and his potent Brother of *France* then by the Peace at full liberty to lend him all needful help. My Lord, you ſee here what little Sincerity there was in all their mutual Proceedings; may the Reward be ſuitable, is my unfeigned Wiſh, as it has been already to ſome. But——— I am,

My Lord,

Paris, March 9.
1680. N. S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Devoted Servant.

LET.

LETTER LIV.

Of King Charles *the Second's urging the* French *Court for his Remittances, according to the private League between them.*

My Lord,

YOU have heard what preſſing Inſtances his Highneſs has made for his Remittances, according to Agreement, and what mighty Encouragements he has given this Court of gaining their Ends, both in Court and Parliament; and now 'tis fit the King ſhould put in his Plea at laſt: which he did in this manner, as their Minutes repreſent it.

That for his part, he had advanc'd rather more than leſs Mony than he had already receiv'd from them, for carrying on their Work: and that, not to enumerate many Particulars, he would obſerve to them, that when he ſaw there was no other Probability of obliging his dear Brother of *France*, in preſerving the Neutrality ſo much deſired by him, but by proroguing of his Parliament, which they knew well enough was a tender Point; that yet, not to be wanting to his Brother's Intereſts, and his own Engagements, he had adventured ſo far, as even twice to prorogue them: and had withal expended moſt of his own Monys in endeavouring, if poſſible, againſt the next Meeting, or Seſſion of Parliament, to make a Party, ſo as to be able, in a Parliamentary Way, to over-match his Adverſaries, and thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian King, his Brother. And not only that, but to be in a condition to ſupport himſelf, during their Receſs, in the Figure he ought, as King of *England*, to make, both at home and abroad, for his own Advantage, as

well

well as that of the moſt Chriſtian King; and ſo carry on the Work of Mediation between him and the Confederates, as his Brother of *France* would have; as likewiſe the deſired Negotiations in *Holland*, to induce the Prince of *Orange* to a Compliance, *&c.*

That they could not but know he was much involv'd in Debts by the laſt War, in conjunction with them, againſt *Holland*, and other extraordinary Occaſions, by Troubles ariſing, and fomented chiefly by his adhering to his Brother of *France*'s Intereſt; and that he having prorogued his Parliament upon his account, and thereby put himſelf under an abſolute Neceſſity of being depriv'd of the Legal Aſſiſtance of his People, it was but very reaſonable and juſt they ſhould advance ſuch a Sum as might enable him not only further to gratify his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Deſires, but alſo to ſatisfy in part his own extraordinary Neceſſities, and recompenſe him for the Subſidies he miſs'd of thereby again and again from his own Subjects.

And laſtly, he demanded at leaſt ſuch a Reinforcement as he had before receiv'd at the Concluſion of the Treaty with *France*, and that by way of Extraordinary, beſides his Annuity punctually paid: And of this he expected an exact Performance before the ——————, beſides another Advance at the beginning of that Seſſion; that ſo he might be able to make his Party good againſt all Oppoſers at their next Meeting, or elſe prorogue them, without fear of wanting Mony during their Receſs. And did further inſiſt, beſides ſome other Propoſals not worth mentioning, upon his having five or ſix Millions of Livres allow'd him with all convenient ſpeed, towards the payment of his Debts, and the retrieving of his loſt Credit. The Succeſs of which Remonſtrances and Propoſals, both from the King and Duke, your Lordſhip may perhaps be inform'd of another time, by,

Paris, March 16. 1680. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's moſt
Humbly Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER LV.

Giving an Account, how far the French *complied with the King and Duke's Remonstrances for Mony; and how the same was resented by them.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship may refresh your Memory, by calling to mind what I have some time since writ to you, concerning the King, and his Brother the Duke's pressing of this Court for the Remittances agreed on, and what further Additions they wanted, for negotiating of Businesses then in agitation, with *Coleman*'s Countermine to part of their Designs. I am now further to acquaint your Honour, that the fore-mentioned Importunities, together with those Cautions of *Coleman*, produced this Effect; that they sent about half as much Mony as they had advanced at first to each of them, telling them at the same time, that the Most Christian King's Conveniency would not admit of a larger Remise at present; neither could he do it with that Privacy he would, but by his *Jews* at *Genoa:* and therefore desired them to make what shift they could with that Proportion, till the Event of the Parliament was seen, whether it were prorogued, or no.

But to the Duke they more particularly told, that if what was then remitted would not serve turn, and that he wanted more, rather than balk his Designs, he might venture hardily on the Most Christian King's Word, to lay out of his own Store; that he should certainly be re-paid again at the time mentioned, with an Overplus: And that as for the Conversions he spake of, they waved them;

them; and ſaid, Father *la Chaiſe* and that Society had provided now a Fund for that Work, without troubling them.

But to *Coleman*, not mentioning the Motion about Converſions, they only ſent a good Gratuity for the Prorogation before, and about the Sum of twenty thouſand Crowns advance extraordinary, to hire an Houſe, and to do other things, in order to the corrupting of Parliament-men, *&c.* If he ſaw likelihood of it, he was to have ——ooo Crowns more, for to try Events; if he ſucceeded, he was promiſed ——oooo beſides: and for a Prorogation when judged neceſſary, for ſo long as deſired, another very conſiderable Sum, not particularly mentioned.

How far any of the forementioned Perſons did proceed, by way of Compliance with this Court, I know no otherwiſe for the preſent than thus, (in general) that they have noted the two Royal Brothers were a little diſheartned to ſee their Friends on this ſide ſo backward to ſupply them; but that however, conſidering the Plauſibility of the *French* Excuſes, and their own preſſing Neceſſities, but more eſpecially the King's, they not only took what was ſent them, but reſolved alſo to proceed to oblige the *Meſſieurs* as much as they could, to the end they might induce them by Performances to ſend them more. The effects of which dangerous Complaiſance, to ſay no worſe of it, the Nation has but too much felt already; and God knows where it will terminate: I am ſure, your Lordſhip cannot but think it bodes ill; as does,

My Lord,

Paris, June 4.
1680. N. S.

Your very Humble, and
moſt Obedient Servant.

LET.

LETTER LVI.

Of the Methods the Jesuits used to promote Conversions in England, *and how* St. Germain *attempted King* Charles II. *With his Answer*, &c.

My Lord,

I Need not tell your Lordship that Father *St. Germain*, a Jesuit, and one called out on purpose by the *French* King's Confessor, was the head Manager of Conversions (as they called them) and of their other wicked Designs upon our Country under the covert of that; and who having gained *Coleman*, now a Fellow-Domestick, into a close Confidence and Compliance with him, soon found means to procure several other fit Accomplices, among the most considerable Orders and Parties of Men in the Kingdom, whether seated in, or resorting to the famous Metropolis thereof: and the better to draw in the Men, they were very industrious in plying the Women of Quality most fit for Intrigue, to declare themselves for their Church, and under that pretence to make as many Partizans for *France* as they could; whose Grandeur chiefly they had in view, as to the best of my remembrance I have noted once and again to your Lordship; and not that of the Pope of *Rome*, or his Religion, which was only to serve for a Covert to the other, to the end their Practices might not be discovered, or countermined by the other foreign Ministers of that Communion. And so good success they had in those juggling Proceedings, that it bred in them indeed too much Confidence of their going through with the rest of their Work with the same ease, and so made them guilty of the weaknesses of an over-hasty bragging and

betraying of the Secrets of their Measures; which in so jealous a Nation as *England* is, for a Jesuit, and a *French* one too to do it, was a very great Error in Policy. For *St. Germain*, and his Gang, having met with such success in their work as they dreamed not of, they hence, after having made sure of the Duke, took the Confidence to attempt the King himself, and were, as they imagined, heard very favourably by him; having been often told by him in Compliment, that he looked upon their Religion as the most Politick, and that they had really made him so much a Convert, as to think that the Protestant Religion produced but ill Subjects, *&c.* But finding for all this that the effect was not answerable to the hopeful and favourable incouragement, that he could not be brought actually to declare for them, they oftentimes railed at him in private in *England*; and when any of them came over hither occasionally, the mildest Character they could give of him was, That he was a Prince that looked upon all Religion as a politick Cheat, to keep the World in awe, *&c.* but this was afterwards: for before, upon such Compliments from the King, as aforesaid, they were so over-joy'd, that it did indeed make them indiscreet upon it, so far as to make it almost their common and ordinary Discourse, not only to those already fixed in their Opinion, and that were of a stay'd and reserved Temper, but even to new Converts, and bauling talkative Women: nay, and inserted it in their Letters too, both In-land and Foreign, that they had gained both Duke and King to their Religion; that they had fished in the *British* Ocean with such wonderful success, that they fished now only for the greater Fish of all, leaving the small Fry to come of themselves, having already catch'd two Royal Fishes (the *Dolphin* and *Tung*) with many such like Expressions: and it was very ordinary with them in Conferences of Controversies, when they saw other Arguments have little effect, to urge the Example of the King and Duke; two such wise Princes as they represented them, who knew and understood perfectly well the Principles of the *Reformed Religion*,

gion, and all the Arguments it was defensible by, and yet had in a manner yielded to the invincible force of the Truth, which appeared on their side; and had, said they, against their Temporal Interests, to the evident hazards of their Persons and Dignities, to which they preferred the Welfare of their more precious Souls, embraced the *Roman Catholick* Opinions. Yea, *St. Germain* proceeded so far in this kind of vanity, that he was in a fair way to be ruined for ever: but I have not leisure at this Juncture to observe to your Lordship the Passages and Effects of that Conduct, but must refer it to my next, wherein I hope I shall not fail you, who am,

My Lord,

Your ever obliged, and most Obedient Servant.

Paris, July 17. 1680. N.S.

LETTER LVII.

St. Germain *endeavouring to reclaim one* **Lusancy** *to the Church of* **Rome**, *whose Communion he had forsaken, used King* **Charles II's** *turning* **Papist** *as an Argument; which the other discovering, forced* **St. Germain** *to flee into* **France**, *where he was punished for his Indiscretion for a time.*

My Lord,

IT was not without some difficulty that I have been able to perform the promissory Clause of my last Letter, in reference to Father *St. Germain*'s unseasonable Words concerning the King's Perversion to the *Romish* Church; who, among others, more particularly repeated the said Brags to a young Friar, then lately turned

Proteſtant, in the *Savoy*, (as I learnt afterward) and whom, for what peculiar Reaſons I could never come to know, he laboured with more than ordinary Application to reclaim back again from his pretended Hereſy, and at any rate to diſpatch him back into *France*. That ſame young Friar went by the Name of *Luſancy*, but *St. Germain* ſaid, his true Name was *Beau-Chateau*; and it ſeems he had been *St. Germain's* Scholar formerly, when Regent in the College of *Clermont*, in this City: And conſequently, knowing more of *St. Germain*, than any other Man, perhaps in *England*, it may be, the Fear of ſome Inconveniency to their Deſigns by that Knowledge, and ſuch Diſcourſes as he might happen to have thereupon, was one Reaſon of the ſaid Father's ſo great eagerneſs to remove him out of the way. In fine, how *de facto*, and in truth he managed the Buſineſs with him, I cannot affirm; but certain it is, that *Luſancy* pretended, that upon his deferring, as the other thought, a little too much his full Compliance with his Deſires, he offered him Violence; and, with ſeveral Accomplices, threatned to ſtab or piſtol him if he would not ſign ſuch a Recantation as he preſented, and go along with thoſe he brought with him, in order to his immediate Tranſportation: And that upon Complaint thereof to the Parliament, then ſitting, by a Noble Lord, to whom *Luſancy* applied himſelf, and whom I need not name, I believe, to your Lordſhip, tho perhaps you have never heard this Story before in its full length, and by the Diſcovery of ſome other of their Practices, the ſaid *Luſancy* forced *St. Germain* to flee; and was the Cauſe of ſome ſtir againſt Popiſh Prieſts and Emiſſaries at that time; which was the *Præludium* to what followed afterwards in the time of the late Conſpiracy imputed to the ſaid Party. And no leſs certain it is on the other ſide, that *St. Germain's* Imprudence and ill Conduct, both in that and other things, was ſo defenceleſs and inexcuſable, that he was a long time in ſome diſgrace with the Duke and Dutcheſs, with Father *la Chaiſe*, and the whole Society of his Order; to whom he was

forced,

forced, by a long and laborious Apology, to vindicate himſelf as well as he could; particularly, about the unhappy Affair of *Luſancy*, and his raſh and inconſiderate Speeches of the King and the Duke of *York*, which he compiled with much Artifice and Eloquence; and made me clothe it in the *Engliſh* Tongue, (to the end he might ſatisfy his Friends of both Nations of his Innocence as to thoſe foul Aſperſions caſt upon him) as he would have it. Yet he could never ſo ſolidly refute what was ſo plainly objected againſt him, but that ſtill there remained Cauſes ſufficient to ſuſpect, that the Aſſertions of ſuch as accuſed him were not without ſome real Grounds. And indeed, tho they were glad to have the ſame paſs for a plauſible Defence among Secular Perſons for their common Reputation, upon which that ſubtil Society ſo much value and eſteem themſelves; yet within their own Cloiſters they were ſo little ſatisfied with his ſpecious Pleas, that they mulcted him, as they uſually do their own Members upon failure of Conduct, by ſending him to and fro, and employing him in low and contemptible things, which only *Juniors* uſed to perform; and were a long time before they admitted him to any conſiderable Poſt again: tho at laſt, after ſufficient Mortification, upon his uninterrupted and vehement Importunities, to be reſtored again once more to their good Opinion, and repeated Promiſes to be more aſſiduous in their Service, and careful of his Conduct for the future, and becauſe he had been at firſt with *Coleman*, the chief Author of the Duke's being drawn into a cloſe and ſeparate Intrigue with the Court of *France*, by the Intervention of Father *la Chaiſe*, and knew beſt of any the Secrets and Myſtery of it; he was again intruſted to manage the Continuation of that Correſpondence, by the means of *Coleman*, his old Friend's receiving all Letters from him, and tranſmitting thoſe of Father *la Chaiſe* and his Creatures in *France*, to *Coleman* and his Maſter, and others with whom he had any Intrigue in *England*; among whom was one Lady *Glaſcow*, who received and diſperſed moſt of the Letters which were not incloſed in

Coleman's Pacquet, and which were commonly numerous enough, directed to her under ſix or ſeven ſeveral Names, changing every time, or every other time at leaſt, the Name, and the Direction. Of which Correſpondence I may, perhaps, be able to give your Lordſhip a fuller Account another time; preſuming this cannot but find Acceptance, tho from ſo mean a Perſon as is,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
Moſt Devoted and
Humble Servant.

Paris, Sept. 2.
1680. N.S.

LETTER LVIII.

Arguments uſed to the Duke of York, *againſt Marrying his Daughter to the Prince of* Orange.

My Lord,

I Confeſs, I do not well remember when it was that I gave your Lordſhip an Account of the Duke's being firſt drawn into a cloſe Correſpondence with *France*; and I am as much to ſeek how and when the following Arguments were urged upon him, any further than the Circumſtance of the Subject does diſcover: But Time may unravel all. However, this, I find, was urged firſt upon him:

That it would be of equal Danger to his Royal Highneſs, if not more, to give his Daughtet to the Prince of *Orange*, than to let her be in the *French* Diſpoſal; and that his Brother, the King, would be involved in equal Trouble on that account, as on the other: For that if ſhe were given to the Prince of *Orange*, without firſt engaging him in the Intereſts of *France*, he would thereby

thereby have a double Claim to the Crown; that of course the King, his Brother, must be drawn into a War with *France*; and that by so doing, both the Royal Brethren would lose for ever the *French* King's Friendship and Support in case of Extremity, which they would infallibly be reduced to by such a War, or by but making a Shew of it: for if it went on, whether there were Cause or no, there would be Jealousies of the Duke's corresponding with *France*; yea, and of the King too: And that, after all, such a Match would be interpreted but for a piece of Policy, only to hide from the People their Correspondence with *France*; and would never cure their Jealousies, nor take off the Fears they had of a Popish Succession by his new Dutchess; but add Strength and Courage to them, to oppose Remedies against it. That thereupon, when they had the King once in a War, they would not give him any Mony to carry it on, unless they saw the laying of it out, and had in a manner the Administration of the War in their own hands; in which his Highness would be but a Cypher, and would never be trusted. That then, not content with that, it was not to be doubted, but that the Exclusion of himself, and of his Heirs by the Second Bed, unless educated in the Protestant Religion, would likewise be hotly urged in the next place, in favour of a Protestant Prince so doubly allied to the Crown of *England*, a professed Enemy of *France*, and a Native of *Holland*; the Country, next their own, so much adored by them. That such an Alliance would strengthen that Faction, that was already but too strong. That such an Exclusion being press'd, the King must either grant it, or deny it: if he granted it, as it was to be feared he might, then was his Highness, and the Heirs of his Religion, lost without Recovery; and then it would be out of the *French* King's Power, as well as Inclination to assist him, after having been so disobliged, against the Power of *England* and *Holland* united; neither could he propose that Advantage to himself, be it as it will. That if the King should resist the said Importunity about Ex-

cluſion, then he would expoſe himſelf to the Diſtractions of a Civil War, which might end both in the Ruin of the Royal Family, and the Monarchy it ſelf; for that the Republicans would not fail to lift up their Creſts again in thoſe Troubles: And that beſides the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Monmouth* being already very popular, might be tempted by ſo fair an Opportunity, to put in for a Pretender to the Succeſſion; and that it was not impoſſible that the King, if he ſaw him favoured by the People, might be tempted too to prefer the Intereſt of a Son, before that of a Brother; and a Brother too, for whom he muſt be neceſſitated to undergo ſo much Vexation and Trouble, and run ſo great a riſque to defend. That in the mean while, *England* being in a War with *France*, that King, inſtead of helping him, muſt be obliged in his own Defence to foment thoſe Troubles, and abet his Enemies. That perhaps he might think ſome of theſe Fears but imaginary; but that his Highneſs might aſſure himſelf, they had better Intelligence than he in that Caſe, and were very well ſatisfied that all the ſaid Parties were ready diſpoſed, and had concerted all their Deſigns againſt him; and that they were abetted by Men of the greateſt Power and Intereſt in the Three Kingdoms: and then, of what Power and Influence ſuch plauſible and popular Pretenſions would be among the People, when promoted and advanced by ſuch Men, his Royal Highneſs could not be ignorant.

That therefore, all ſummed up, and duly compared, the Dangers attending the Eſpouſing his Daughter to the Prince of *Orange* were as great, if not conſiderably greater, than thoſe that would be incurred by giving her up to the diſpoſal of the *French* King; for more could not be feared from that, than what had been mentioned: Therefore they conjured him, as he tender'd his own Good and Safety, or that of his Poſterity, or of his Brother, or laſtly, of the hopeful beginnings of the Catholick Religion in theſe Kingdoms, that he ſhould be perſuaded, and alſo perſuade his Brother, to take the Coun-

ſel

ſel of *France*, both in the Diſpoſal of the Princeſs, and other things relating thereto; for that the Danger of adhering to the *French* King was no greater than that on the other ſide, but that the Aſſiſtance on his ſide would be great and powerful, as well as cordial; whereas it never could be in the other Party's Power, much leſs in their Intereſt or Inclination, to afford him any Succour in his Troubles, but rather to add Oil to the Flame. And abcve all, he ſhould never be ſo raſh, as to ſuffer himſelf to be tempted to conſent to a War againſt *France*, for that the Factions would then have their Ends of him, as having a full Opportunity put into their hands thereby to compleat his Ruin without controul. Theſe were the Arguments uſed to his Royal Highneſs againſt the Match with the Prince of *Orange*; and with which I ſhall at preſent conclude, who am,

Paris, Aug. 4. 1679. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER LIX.

Propoſals made to the Duke of York, *about conſenting to have his Daugheer, the Lady* Mary, *privately trapanned into* France, *&c.*

My Lord,

I Gave, in my laſt to your Lordſhip, a Relation of the Remonſtrances uſed to the Duke in general, againſt his conſenting to have his Daughter married to the Prince of *Orange*; I ſhall now endeavour to oblige your Lordſhip with ſome new Propoſals made to him upon that Head.

1. That the Duke ſhould uſe all the Power and Intereſt he had with the King, his Brother, to let his Daugh-

ter, the Lady *Mary*, take a Voyage into *France*, to take the Waters of *Bourbon*; or else to consent she might be privily sent away by the Duke, as against his Knowledge and Will; and that then they would get her speedily married: which putting things past Retrieve, Matters might the better, by good Management, be composed, and made up to all their Satisfactions.

2. That to this purpose the *French* King would send a most splendid Embassy into *England*, of one of the chief Peers of his Realm, with a very numerous Train of choice Nobility. And if the King consented publickly to that Proposition, the Princess might go over in the said Ambassador's Company: Or if he gave private Consent, she might be convey'd away, as in the first Article.

3. If the King should by no means consent to it, that then the Duke should contrive a way to get her seized and shipped off at the Ambassador's Departure, without the King's Privity or Knowledge.

4. That if it were done by the King's Consent, the Sum of five and twenty Millions of Livres should be, without fail, remitted to him at two Payments; the first as soon as the Princess should arrive in the Kingdom of *France*; and the other three Months after. And that the King and Duke in that case should seem highly concern'd, and dispos'd to declare War against *France* on that account; and with the Mony sent raise Forces, as if it were for the War, and call to the Parliament for Mony to maintain it; which, if they granted, to take it, (*there was no doubt of their Consent to that*:) After which, the *French* King was to send a very submissive Embassage to *England*, offering to make ample Satisfaction for the Injury, and to strike up a Peace with *Holland* at any rate; upon which, our King was to take upon him to be appeased, and to pretend the *Dutch* were in the fault that he did not make war.

5. That then, if there should happen any Motions for Exclusion, his Majesty might make use of the Mony, and of the Forces raised as aforesaid, for his own Security; and that if any Rebellion happen'd, he might be

assur'd

assur'd the *French* King would send him both Men and Mony enough in case of need.

6. That if it were done without the King's Consent, he, the Duke, should pretend himself wholly ignorant of the Rape, and seem as much concern'd as the King for Satisfaction.

7. But that if the King should be so displeased with his Highness, as to side with the adverse Party against him, after he had stood his ground as long as he could, and made as many Friends as was possible, that then he should privately retire to *Scotland* or *Ireland*, and raise Arms there, where he should be powerfully assisted, both with Men and Mony, from the *French* King; who would likewise use Means to raise Divisions among his Enemies, by several Methods they had concerted, and suddenly discourage them all, by an unexpected Peace with *Holland*; though there was but little Prospect that Things should come to this Extremity.

8. That the Princess, still the better to appease the Heats in *England*, should, upon her Marriage, have, in ample manner, a Protestant Chappel allow'd her; and that at the same time, the Protestants in the Kingdom of *France* should be used with extraordinary Kindness and Favour for her sake, till a General Peace, or other fit time to take off the Mask, were come.

9. That the better to take off the Edge of the *English* Fury to a War with *France*, besides the Peace to be made between the *French* and the *Dutch*, a third War was to be raised by the *Hollanders* against *England*; and they put with might and main upon new Encroachments and Insolencies against the *English*.

10. That the better to cover all this, the Duke was not only to make a Semblance, but really to go to the Protestant Church again, and to give out with a full Cry, that he had been most maliciously traduc'd, and that he never was reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*; and that his Non-compliance in some things lately put upon him, did only arise, in that he conceiv'd such things were not to be impos'd upon a Prince, as on a Subject.

I have had the Opportunity, my Lord, to see several other things, of lesser consequence, projected here, for the Management of this Affair to the Interest of the *French* Court; with which I shall not trouble your Lordship, and remain,

My Lord,

Paris, Aug. 13. 1679. N.S. *Your very humble Servant.*

LETTER LX.

Arguments used by the French *Emissaries in* England *to the Royal and Church-of-*England *Party, against the matching of the Lady* Mary *with the Prince of* Orange.

My Lord,

THE *French* Emissaries finding (notwithstanding the strong Opposition made by them to the matching of the Lady *Mary* with his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as I have some time since inform'd your Lordship) that there was a very strong Current in the Nation for that Alliance, and having inform'd their Principals in the *French* Court therewith; they had fresh Instructions sent them, to gain, if possible, the time desired by them, which was till a General Peace were concluded, and to ply the Royalists, and high Members of the Church of *England*, not only close upon that Head, but their Instructions were reduc'd to these Branches.

1. They were to represent the Match as dishonourable, and too much reflecting on the Honour of crown'd Heads, to match a Daughter in so fair a way to be Heiress to three Crowns, to a Prince who was not only no Sovereign, but descended of a Family which had distinguish'd

it

it ſelf chiefly by heading a Rebellion againſt his lawful Prince, and who was himſelf but the chief Officer of a Government ſo hateful to all Kings, as a Commonwealth, and that of one founded by Rebellion too; that ſuch an Alliance muſt needs be more particularly diſhonourable to the Royal Family of *England*, which had ſo lately and deeply ſuffer'd by a Rebellion moved againſt it by their own People, chiefly out of an Emulation to be like thoſe Rebels; that indeed King *Charles* I. did match his Daughter to the preſent Prince of *Orange*'s Father, but it was becauſe he was involv'd in Troubles, and had not time or opportunity to diſpoſe of her better, and thought by that Match to pleaſe the People, appeaſe the Faction animated againſt him, and by ſuch a Proteſtant Match allay the Jealouſies conceiv'd of his being popiſhly inclin'd, or having leagued with Popiſh Powers to their prejudice; and laſtly, obtain ſome Aſſiſtance from the States of *Holland* in his Diſtreſs: and yet that after all his projection hereby, that Match was condemn'd by moſt of his Friends, as highly diſhonourable, and of very ill Example and Conſequence, and is charged upon him as one of the great Errors of his Reign, and therefore by no means to be reiterated by a new one of the ſame kind.

2. They were to remonſtrate, That the Prince of *Orange* was bred in Presbyterian Principles, and to exaggerate, with all the terrible Circumſtances that could be ſuppoſed, the Danger the Church of *England* and Epiſcopacy would be in by the Acceſſion of ſuch a Prince to the Crown; *Presbyterians* being no leſs paſſionate Enemies to the Church of *England* than Papiſts, and being much the more dangerous of the two, as being incomparably the more numerous: the ſtrange Succeſs they lately had in effecting ſo total a Subverſion as they did of the Epiſcopal Church in the laſt Reign under rebellious Leaders, being too ſenſible a Proof of both what they could, and what they would do again more effectually and more irrecoverably, when headed by a lawful

lawful Superior, and ſtrengthned by the Aſſiſtance of their Brethren in *Holland*.

This, my Lord, is the Subſtance of the Inſtructions ſent from hence to their Emiſſaries in *England*, for the managing of the forementiоn'd Part; and with which I ſhall conclude this Epiſtle, who am,

Paris, Aug. 23. 1679. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's to ſerve You.

LETTER LXI.

Inſtructions given to the French *Emiſſaries, whereby to manage the Diſſenters and Republican Party in* England, *in reference to the Prince of* Orange's *matching with the Lady* Mary.

My Lord,

I Have in my laſt given your Lordſhip an Account of the *French* Intrigues, in managing the Royal and Church-of-*England* Party, in reſpect to the Match with the Prince of *Orange*; here follow their Inſtructions to their Agents, with the Diſſenters and Republican Party upon the ſame Head. To them they were to uſe many of the Arguments uſed to thoſe of *Holland*, of which hereafter; and make them believe, if they could, that if the Prince of *Orange* ſhould come to the Crown of *England*, notwithſtanding his Humility now, he would fly higher at Abſolute Power than any before him, or that the preſent King, or his Brother could; that under an humble Appearance he ſubtilly hid an aſpiring Mind; and that having in many things encroach'd already upon the Power of the States General, he would totally op-

preſs

preſs them, and by that Acceſſion of Strength raiſe his Authority in *England* to what pitch he pleaſed; and adieu to all hopes of a Commonwealth there, when that of *Holland* ſhould be ſubject to his Scepter, and adieu to all expectation of making *Presbytery* the predominant Religion there; for that it was almoſt incompatible with a moderate Monarchy, much leſs with abſolute Power: and that whatever Principles the Prince had been bred in, as to Religion, though he might like them well enough as a Member of a State, with whoſe Conſtitutions they perfectly agreed; it was not to be doubted, that when he came to be a Monarch, and ſo powerful an one too, as the *United Provinces* thrown into the Weight of three Crowns would make him, but he would, like moſt Princes, make his Religion conform to the Model of his Politicks: and when he became a Monarch, and ſo great a one too, take up Monarchs Principles, which could be no other than Popiſh, or ſuch as exceed them, if poſſible, in Malignity, *viz.* thoſe of the tantivy Sons of the Church of *England*, none elſe agreeing with deſpotick Rule. So that whatever Hopes they might flatter themſelves with from ſuch a Match, and the Prince's Acceſſion to the Throne, they ſhould find themſelves ſo far diſappointed, as not to have any reaſon left them to expect ſo much as a Toleration in Religion, and the Freedom of their Conſciences: Which, with my humble Reſpects to your Lordſhip, is all I have to communicate at this time; who am, in all lowly Obſervance,

Paris, Sept. 5.
1679. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's to Command.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

SINCE I had finiſh'd my Letter, I happening occaſionally to run over ſome of our Minutes, I thought fit to ſubjoin what I meet with there briefly inſerted,

inſerted, in order to the Management of mere Politicians and *Adiaphorites* in Religion, upon the account of the Prince's Match; and to them the forementiond Emiſſaries were to ſuggeſt on the contrary, that the Prince, though he ſhould in time, by virtue of the ſaid Match, come to be King of *England*, yet it could not be thought but that ſtill he would continue a *Dutchman* in all his Inclinations, ſacrifice our Commerce and Intereſt to thoſe of that Nation; yea, and perhaps part with the chief Prerogatives of the Crown to make the King of *England* like a Doge of *Venice*, or *Dutch* Stadt-holder, *&c.* which, though ſufficiently ridiculous, I could not forbear noting to your Lordſhip; who am,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

LETTER LXII.

The Arguments uſed in Holland *by the* French *Emiſſaries to the* Loveſtein *Faction againſt the Prince of* Orange's *matching with the Lady* Mary, *&c.*

My Lord,

IF it was any Pleaſure to your Lordſhip to peruſe the Accounts I have already given you of the Stratagems of this Court to excite the Church of *England* and *Diſſenting Parties* againſt the Match with the Prince of *Orange*, as I am deſirous, and I hope not unwilling, to interpret your Silence in that regard to imply it; I cannot think it will be leſs to your Honour's Satisfaction, to underſtand how they managed the ſame Affair in *Holland*, where no leſs Subtilty and Addreſs was wanting than

than in *England*, to divert a Match, that predicted no good Omen to *France*, as they imagin'd. The Party in that Republick, which their Emiſſaries had Inſtructions to work upon, were the *Loveſtein Faction*, to whom nevertheleſs they were to addreſs themſelves very cautiouſly and covertly; and firſt to inſinuate to them, and by them to the State-Party:

That indeed it was true the Illuſtrious Princes of the Houſe of *Naſſau* had not only been the firſt Founders, but alſo the great Preſervers of their Commonwealth; and that it could not be deny'd but that the preſent Prince of *Orange* had very much contributed to its late Recovery, after it had been brought to the very Brink of Deſtruction; and that they were fully convinc'd that ſame Family muſt remain a neceſſary Bulwark to their Commonwealth, ſo long as their Intereſts ſhould continue inſeparably intwiſted with thoſe of the State: but if they ſhould be ſo blinded as to conſent, or but tacitly give way to any Steps that might alter thoſe of the Prince into any other Channel, that ſame Houſe might, in proceſs of time, prove the fatal Cadency and Diſſolution, as it had been the happy Riſe and Glory of that flouriſhing State. That the Implacability of the *Spaniſh* Royal Family againſt thoſe that have once offended them, and their bloody and unjuſt Proſcription of the Noble Houſe of *Orange*, had ſo firmly cemented the Intereſts of the Princes of that Family with thoſe of the States during the Wars with *Spain*, that there could not poſſibly any Danger ariſe to them from that Houſe, how much ſoever they were intruſted with the Authority of the States, they being then beſt ſecur'd by the Greatneſs and Power of that. Nay, and that after the Peace made between that Republick and the Crown of *Spain*, there could be no Danger from thoſe Princes neither, ſo long as they match'd into inferior Princes Families, as thoſe of *Germany*, *&c.* which might add Strength, but never could Power enough to the Princes of *Orange* to cruſh the State, or in the leaſt divide from its true Intereſts. But that it might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, if

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any of them were ſuffer'd to match into the Family of any crown'd Head, and eſpecially of any near Neighbour to the Republick; for that would be an effectual Means to fill their Heads with aſpiring Thoughts, and great Deſigns to aggrandize themſelves, and might afford them Power enough to put them in execution; a Temptation too ſtrong for almoſt any active ſpirited Prince to reſiſt: And therefore ſuch a one as this preſent Prince ought by no means to be expoſed to it by any wiſe Stateſmen, whoſe Intereſt it was to keep him from it, and who had Cunning enough to put him by it. That never any of his preſent Highneſs's Predeceſſors have been ſo much as ſuſpected of aſpiring at any Power over the Commonwealth, but what tended to its greater Security, and for the Elevation of the Majeſty of the Republick, without the leaſt Glances of aſſuming any to themſelves, unleſs it were his Highneſs's Father; who, in all probability, was animated thereunto by his matching with a Daughter of *England*: And that his Ambition might have proved fatal to the Republick, beyond Retrieve, if his immature Death, and other ſeaſonable Providences, had not interven'd. That the Influence of that Match had prov'd very detrimental to that Illuſtrious Houſe, by ſtirring up ſuch a Jealouſy in the States againſt them, as would not ſuffer them to admit the preſent Prince, for a long time, to enjoy the Places of Honour, Authority and Truſt, formerly ſo well maintain'd and officiated by his Noble Anceſtors: and that, at the ſame time, it had prov'd as pernicious to the States themſelves, in creating and nouriſhing Factions among them, and Endeavours to keep up the Republick upon a new Model, without *Captain-General*, *Stadt-holder*, *Admiral*, &c. and to deprive themſelves of the ſo neceſſary and auſpicious Aſſiſtance and Conduct of that moſt Illuſtrious Houſe, and thereby expoſed even almoſt to be made a Prey to the dangerous Ambition of the *French* Monarch.

And therefore now, when they had ſo newly re-enter'd into their true Intereſts, and happily re-fix'd all things

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on the old Foundation, by reſtoring the preſent Prince to the Dignity of his Anceſtors, and calling him to the Helm of the Tempeſt-beaten State, and had by his Courage, Conduct, and Intereſt recover'd the Commonwealth to a very hopeful Condition of Power and Proſperity again; it would be no leſs than a Madneſs to venture the Ruin of all thoſe fair Hopes, by a ſecond Match with *England*, when by the former they had been almoſt all ſhipwrack'd; and to ſuffer a Prince, who was now wholly their own, to eſpouſe, in ſuch a Marriage as was then in agitation, a Foreign Intereſt; and ſuch as, in all probability, could not in time but interfere with theirs: And therefore deſired it might not be,

1. Becauſe, though the Prince's Intentions ſhould happen to continue ever ſo right and firm to the Intereſt of the Republick, yet this Match could not but be ſtill very detrimental both to him and them, by cauſing incurable Jealouſies, Factions, and Animoſities amongſt them without end; and which could not but be of pernicious conſequence to them both.

2. That by reaſon of the little Probability of the Duke of *York*'s having any vivacious Male Iſſue, this would give the Prince ſuch a near Proſpect of the *Britiſh* Crowns, that it could not but engage him, in that View, upon all occaſions, to ſtrain his Power and Intereſt in the *United Provinces* to the utmoſt for the Advantage of the *Engliſh* Nation, to the Prejudice of the *Dutch* Increaſe of Power and Intereſt.

3. That if he ever came to be King of *England*, the Power he would thereby obtain, added to that he had already in the *United Provinces* as Stadt-holder, Captain General, *&c.* and to the great Influence he had among the Soldiery in the States Pay, would undoubtedly be a ſtrong Temptation to him to reduce that State under the *Engliſh* Crown, and influence the others to aſſiſt him in it; and that if he ſhould have Iſſue by his Princeſs, as it was likely enough he might, the Danger under that Circumſtance would be in a manner inevitable.

It is likely, my Lord, our Politicians here foresaw very great Difficulties would arise in making any manner of Impressions on the States against the Prince's Match; for by the foresaid Remonstrances it does appear to me their Master-battery was turned on that side: but though all their Politicks have fail'd them for the prevention of the Marriage, yet they have not fail'd to put some of these Arguments forwards, to render the Prince and all his Proceedings suspected to the States; and they have already bragged, that all the Constancy his Highness is well known to be Master of, will find Work enough to overcome the Jealousies entertain'd of him, (and which they are resolved never to be wanting on their part to foment) and to make it be believed that all he has acted since his Marriage, has been to the aggrandizing of himself and his Authority, and the Diminution of that of the Republick. I fear I have already too much transgress'd by my Tediousness, and shall therefore only subscribe my self, as I am in Sincerity,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 20.
1679. N.S.

Your Lordship's

most Humble Servant.

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LETTER LXIII.

Of the Solemn Embaſſy ſent by the French *King to King* Charles *the Second, in the Year* 1677. *in order to break off the Match with the Prince of* Orange, *&c.*

My Lord,

PUrſuant to what I have already mention'd to your Lordſhip, of the Deſigns concerted between his Royal Highneſs and the *French* King, about getting of the Lady *Mary* by a Stratagem into *France*, if their other Meaſures about hindring the Match were broken, was the late ſolemn Embaſſy ſent over from hence into *England*; whereof the Count *d' Eſtree* was the Head, accompany'd with the Duke *de Vendoſme*, the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, one of our great Miniſters, the Marquiſs *de Louvois*'s Sons, and at leaſt fifty Lords more of principal Note: and whoſe publick Inſtructions, though they imported nothing more than a great Compliment, and ſome Overtures about forbidding any Recruits to be ſent over to our Land-Forces in the Service of the Confederates; yet privately they were to endeavour a *French* Match, and if they ſaw they could not ſucceed therein, to concert cloſer Meaſures with the Duke, as to putting in practice what he had before conſented to, about getting the Princeſs his Daughter privately convey'd away, in company of this Ambaſſador into *France*: and perhaps your Lordſhip will not be diſſatisfy'd, if I recount what I have heard diſcourſed one day at this Court, between our Commiſſioner and ſome other Courtiers concerning the Embaſſy. Said one of them to the other, 'What needed ſo ſplendid and coſtly an Embaſſy at this

'time

'time of day to the King of *England*, when there is so 'little hopes that he durst give his Consent to what we 'desire of him, if he were of himself disposed thereto? 'Yes, says the other, 'Twill be well worth the Cost, let 'things go as they will upon this occasion; for 'tis a grea-'ter Honour our King now does to the King of *England*, 'than he has ever yet done to any other Prince, or even 'to the Emperor himself when at Peace with him: and 'such an Honour cannot but work sensibly on the Heart 'of a Prince, who is so easily wrought upon, and may 'work some good Effects for us in time, if not for the 'present. And however, if the worst come to the worst, 'this extraordinary Honour now done him by our Mo-'narch, will make his Parliament and People so fully 'persuaded that he hath entred into an extraordinary 'Engagement with him, that all he can say, or do, 'will never convince them of the contrary, or induce 'them to trust him with Mony to make war against '*France*, for fear he should use it against themselves; 'and not only so, but it would make him as suspected 'among the Confederates, that none of them from 'henceforward would trust him, either for an assistant 'Ally or Mediator, and so would render him of insig-'nificant Force to thwart our Designs.' But the King did for once trick the Trickers, by the Care he had taken of the Princess, as I shall note elsewhere to your Lordship, and by his sudden marrying her to his High-ness the Prince of *Orange*, so much to the surprize and disappointment of this Court, that I cannot express it; and therefore must conclude, subscribing my self,

My Lord,

Paris, Decem. 7.
1679. N. S.

Your Lordship's most Humble,

and most Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXIV.

Of the Popiſh Plot, and Father Kelley's *Menaces.*

My Lord,

THE Diſcourſe about the Plot cannot be more in *England* than 'tis here; but the Particulars of the Proſecution of it, your Lordſhip muſt know much better than I: I do not queſtion but there is Villany enough at the bottom of it, but our Miniſters are as deep in the ſuds as any other whatſoever; who by their ſleights, and wicked practices, have drawn the *Engliſh* Papiſts into ſuch Combinations, as to put the Nation into thoſe Ferments, incurable Jealouſies and Diviſions, that have effectually diverted the *Engliſh* from hunting the *French* in *Flanders*, by imploying them to hunt the Papiſts and Jeſuits at home, as they have been pleaſed to word it. *My Lord*, It may not perhaps be unpleaſing to give your Honour an account of ſome Paſſages that happened between one Father *Kelley* an *Iriſh* Prieſt and my ſelf, in this City lately, concerning the King, *&c.* I know very well, that there were, and perhaps may be ſtill ſome of that Name in *England*, but this ſame hath lived for ſome years at *Paris*, by *St. Jean de Greve*; and tho a Prieſt, is a great Banker, paying moſt of the Penſions for ſecret Service tranſmitted to the *Engliſh* Romaniſts, but chiefly to *Iriſh* Papiſts in *England* and *Ireland*: and who by his Diſcourſe upon the late *Engliſh* Fleet and Armies being ready, and the War likely to be declared againſt this Kingdom, was pleaſed then to ſay ſomething in relation to this Conſpiracy, that I have little thought on till very lately, and that may give your Honour ſome light into the Deſigns of this Court. Said he,

the

the King of *France* will find him (meaning our King) work enough by Diviſions at home, and diſcovering, if needs be, his and his Brother's Intrigues in *France*; and does not care tho he expoſe all the Roman Catholicks in the Three Kingdoms, to a general and hot Perſecution, ſo long as, like the *Turkiſh Aſaphi*, they ſerve to blunt the *Engliſhmens* Fury, and divert them from thwarting the Deſigns of the potent Catholick Kingdom of *France*; which would afterward ſet all right again: but that he was in hopes by their hunting of Papiſts, they would never leave hunting the King and his Brother too, if they proved refractory, till they had brought them to take Sanctuary in a ſtricter Alliance with the *French* King than ever, as their only Safe-guard. And that it was in the *French* King's power to ſpring up a Plot next day, to give the King of *England* Game enough for his Life-time; for that the Mines and Trains were already laid, and that there needed only putting fire to them, *&c.* I am very ſorry I could not have obliged your Lordſhip ſooner with theſe Paſſages, which yet I hope come not too late, but may in ſome meaſure be grateful from,

My Lord,

Paris, Feb. 28.
1678. N. S.

Your Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXV.

Of the Duke of York's *being commanded to retire to* Bruſſels *in the Year* 1679. *and of the Promiſes made him by the King before his Departure.*

My Lord,

I Know not how Matters go in *England*, nor what the Senſe of the People is in general, concerning the Duke's retiring to *Bruſſels*; but I can aſſure your Lordſhip, they ſeem to be mightily alarmed here at it, tho they put a good mein upon it. Perhaps your Lordſhip may know much more of the Secret of this Journey than I can inform you; but if what is tranſmitted hither by the Agents of our Grand Miniſter be acceptable, they give us this account: That the Earl of *D*—— was the Perſon who adviſed the King to remove his Royal Highneſs from his Preſence; and that his Reaſons for it were, that the Parliament might have no pretence to complain of his Majeſty, that he had not taken all the Meaſures neceſſary for the Security of their Religion and Liberty. But they tell us, (how true, I leave it to your Lordſhip's profound Judgment to determine) that the Earl by the foreſaid Advice, did not ſo much conſult the King and Kingdom's true Intereſt, as he did to pleaſe the Parliament, with whom he was at odds, becauſe of the Mony received to disband the Army, and the *French* Alliance; finding now by Experience, that that Artifice of his, in bringing the Plot upon the Stage in order to amuſe them, had failed. They further inform us, that the Duke was mightily ſurprized at the Meſſage for his Departure, and made ſome difficulty to bring himſelf to reſolve to obey

it: but that at length recollecting a better Temper, it gave his faſt Friends an Opportunity to adviſe him; That tho it were at that Juncture neceſſary he ſhould obey the King, yet it was no leſs prudent that he ſhould, in ſo doing, take all neceſſary Precautions, not to abandon his Fortune to the diſcretion of his Enemies: That they did not doubt but the Duke of *Monmouth* would puſh hard, to get himſelf declared Legitimate by the enſuing Parliament: That the buſineſs of the *Excluſion* would be renewed, and that there was room enough to fear, leſt his Retreat might be rather interpreted for the flight of a guilty Perſon, than for the Obedience of a ſubmiſſive Subject; that therefore it was expedient he ſhould get the King firſt to promiſe him that he would declare, and get it recorded too in the Courts of Juſtice, that he had never been married to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother: That he would by no means conſent to the *Excluſion* that was now likely to be preſt upon him; and laſtly, that he ſhould give him expreſs Order in Writing to require his Retirement. All which they ſay, he has happily accompliſhed, the Truth whereof time muſt determine, whereunto I leave it; who am,

Paris, April 6. 1679. N. S.

My Lord,

Your Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXVI.

Of the Noise of King Charles's *Divorce from Queen* Katherine.

My Lord,

THE business of the King's Divorce has made a mighty noise on this side, and I cannot with any certainty inform your Lordship, which way this Court stands affected: for I find, on the one hand, Instructions given to their Agents in *England* to insinuate to the King, but yet very tenderly, what a piece of Injustice it would be to disgrace an innocent harmless Princess, to whom he had been lawfully married, and who had with so much Patience bore the Infirmities that attended him; and that the Consequence of such a Divorce would perhaps be worse than the Divorce it self, seeing a Brother would be balked of the just hopes he had, after his Majesty's Death, of ascending the *English* Throne, *&c.* But since, *My Lord*, having found the Parliament and Privy Council disposed very much to favour such an Action, they gave their Emissaries, of another stamp, Directions to incite the King to it, and to promise to find him out a Princess of this Court's recommendation and procurement, in hopes by that means to set the two Brothers at variance, and to raise new Factions and Disputes about the Succession: and if they saw he would not consent, yet they had their Creatures ready to whisper it in the Duke's Ear as a great secret, that if it were not for them, he would have consented thereunto. But how far these Politicks have been practised, your Lordship can observe much better than I at such a distance; who am,

My Lord,

Your ever Obliged, and most Humble Servant.

Paris, March 2. 1680. N. S.

LETTER LXVII.

Of the Earl of Shaftesbury's *being calumniated by the* French *Agents to K.* Charles II. *in order to put him out from being Preſident of the Council, and from all publick Adminiſtration.*

My Lord,

THE Joy conceived by the Miniſters of this Court, at the diſplacing of my Lord of *Shaftesbury* from his great Office of Preſident of the King's Council, and conſequently from all Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, is as open and unexpreſſible as the Inſtruments and Cauſes of ſuch a Change are ſecret; but ſo far as I have had any Intelligence of this grand Affair, which I predict to be no good Omen to our poor Country, I am free, and I hold my ſelf in Duty bound to communicate to your Lordſhip: who perhaps will not much wonder at ſuch a Change, when I tell you that the Emiſſaries of this Court, but more eſpecially the Women kind, whom I need not name, have inceſſantly, as they have been taught their Leſſons, been buzzing the King in the ears with ſuch Calumnies and Accuſations, as here follow, according as they are inſerted here.

They were to lay hold on all opportunities, to render the ſaid Noble Lord obnoxious to the King, but yet to be very tender in their firſt Attack; and therefore frequently to ſay, That truly his Preſident was a Perſon of incomparable Parts and Abilities in matters of State, and that to do him Juſtice, he had done his Prince as important Service as any of his Subjects: That tho he had in former times fallen in with the Republican Intereſt,

which

which was then predominant in the Nation, yet he had ſince ſhewed ſo much Zeal for the Monarchy, as might juſtly obliterate all former Miſcarriages; provided ſtill he proved conſtant in his Devoir, and gave no ſuſpicion of his being inclinable to re-aſſume the Principles, which he ſeemed once ſo entirely to have forſaken. And when they had again and again made way by ſuch Inſinuations as theſe for more deſperate Attacks, they urged, his Majeſty might call to mind the time and occaſion when, as well as of whom the Earl had once ſaid, that when a Man is wanting to himſelf, he deſerves that others ſhould be ſo to him alſo; and he might conſider how falſe and dangerous a Maxim that was, when it refer'd to a Prince or one's Country, to whom one is never allowed to be wanting. That the Earl had been as good as his word, was already ſufficiently manifeſt, when he had diſcovered in Parliament the ſecret Motives that had engaged the King to grant Liberty of Conſcience before the late War, as well as his Alliance with *France*; and inſinuated the Deſigns his Majeſty had to retrench the Liberty of Parliaments, which was indeed no more than to reduce that Aſſembly within the bounds of their Duty: That his Conduct ever ſince, in promoting the Teſt, *&c.* gave no ſmall Umbrage that he meant more than a bare Excluſion of his Royal Highneſs from publick Offices; That they could not be poſitive that a Change of Government was deſigned thereby, and a new Eſſay for the monſtrous Metamorphoſis of the Monarchy into a Republick once more; but that ſurely, it looked that way: For if the thing were conſidered aright, the King, 'twas true, was an eſtabliſhed Prince, and now long in Poſſeſſion, and in whoſe Perſon there could be no plauſible pretence to induce the People to abandon that Form of Government; and for the Regal Power it ſelf, the time was yet too ſhort ſince a Company of Tyrants had plunged the State into Troubles, to propoſe an entire Abolition of Kings a ſecond time; ſeeing thoſe very Perſons who went under the notion of Republicans, did not ſo much yet aim for the moſt part at the Change of

the Form of the Monarchical Government, as at the diminution of the Authority. And hence it might be reasonably inferred, that the Earl well foreseeing he could not proceed directly to that which he aimed at, began cunningly to take a round, which he judged would conduct him with more safety to the same end: And that seeing no possibility of dispossessing the King, he had formed a design to disinherit the Person that ought to succeed him, being assured that the best Expedient to destroy the Regal Dignity, was to disturb the Order of Succession: And that his Majesty must needs foresee the dangers arising from the Counsels of so pernicious a Man, whose Authority in Court, Parliament and City, was equally formidable as his Policy.

I will not take upon me to determine what great Services his Majesty has lost by the discarding of this great Statesman; he may want him in time, and be better persuaded than ever of the Character himself has given once of him, upon his Resolution of a difficult Case, *viz.* That he had a Chancellor who knew more Law than all his Judges, and more Divinity than all his Bishops. If these Particulars be not new to your Lordship, I desire to know it, that I may be more cautious for the future in my Intelligence, wherein I always aim at pleasing your Lordship;

Who am

Your Humble Servant.

Paris, Aug. 29. 1681.

LET-

LETTER LXVIII.

Of the Duke of York's *being in* France *twice, and cloſetted by the* French *King.* Coleman's *Rencounter with the* French *Embaſſador* Barillon. *His Wife's ill Succeſs in* France. *Her Petition to the* French *King, Return without Relief, and her fatal End.*

My Lord,

HAD I been able to have given your Lordſhip ſome remarkable Paſſages relating to the Duke, and Mr. *Coleman*'s Hiſtory, in the time the great Affair of the Popiſh Plot was in Vogue and Agitation; I do not doubt but I ſhould have perform'd a grateful part to you: yet I find ſomething ſo ſingular and diverting therein, that I cannot but flatter my ſelf it will ſtill in ſome meaſure prove agreeable. Mr. *Coleman* had for a long time manag'd the Intrigues between the *French* and *Engliſh* Courts, and that your Lordſhip well knows, for his Letters that were ſeiz'd and publiſh'd make it evident; and he was one of the chief Inſtruments to draw his Maſter, the Duke of *York*, into ſo cloſe a Correſpondence with them as he was ingag'd in, of which your Lordſhip has heard before: and from the Year 1676. to near the time he was arraign'd and condemn'd for the Popiſh Plot, I am free to acquaint you, *My Lord*, That all his Letters paſt through my Hands; being firſt directed to a *French* Gentleman, who took care to tranſmit them to me, with Orders to ſend them to Father *St. Germain*, who manag'd all Affairs between him and Father *La Chaiſe*: but I ſaw the Contents of few or

none of them, till lately I found them among other things of that kind in the Minutes of our *French* Secretary, and which is the Reaſon your Lordſhip has not receiv'd this Account ſooner. At which I am ſure you cannot but ſtand aſtoniſhed, as I was my ſelf, when I acquaint you, that I find it entred here, that the Duke of *York* was, during this famous Correſpondence, two ſeveral times in *France*, and cloſetted to boot by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. (which by the way, unfolds the Myſtery of the Propoſals I have formerly mentioned, about trapanning the Princeſs into *France*) but it was both times by Night, and the Works of Darkneſs, between One and Two of the Clock in the Morning; truſty Perſons being ready poſted to introduce him. And one time a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, to whom ſome of *Coleman*'s Letters were directed, happening accidentally to let fall an Expreſſion, intimating, That the Duke of *York* was come thither in Perſon, tho it was nois'd up and down among the Courtiers it was *Coleman*; he receiv'd a very ſevere Check for his unſeaſonable Inadvertence; and, as a farther Puniſhment, he had no more any Secrets communicated to him: for the Letters from thenceforward were diſtributed by another way. The firſt time the Duke was cloſetted, was a little before the ſecond *Dutch* War, to concert Meaſures how he ſhould be enabled to induce his Brother to give his Conſent to it, to promote the *French* Deſigns thereby; as was likewiſe our famous Admiral Sir *Edward Spragg*, for the ſame purpoſe, not very long after the Duke. The ſecond time was a little before the Splendid and Extraordinary *French* Embaſſy was ſent into *England*, and wherein Meaſures were concerted how to induce our King to give his Conſent to have the Princeſs *Mary* married into *France*; and in caſe that would not do, how to ſteal her, and ſend her away when they went off. But this Intrigue coming to be privately diſcover'd to the King, by one of the Duke's great Confidents; he had the cunning to diſſemble the matter, and took no manner of notice of it to the Duke his Brother, but

gave

gave ſecret Orders that a ſtrict Eye and a good Guard ſhould be kept over the Princeſs, and would not permit the Duke to have her abroad upon any pretence whatſoever, till the Ambaſſadors were quite gone: ſaying, *It would adminiſter Jealouſy to his People, if ſhe ſhould be permitted to ſtir abroad much, while the* French *Sparks continued in* England. And to prevent the like Plots upon her for the future, and to pleaſe his People who were now upon the fret, and as they would have it here, out of diſpleaſure againſt ſuch an indirect and raſh Procedure; which, had it taken effect, as he ſaid, would have daſhed him and his Government in an inſtant upon an inevitable Rock; he married her, as your Lordſhip well remembers, to the Prince of *Orange*, to the great regret and vexation of the *French* Court, and of the Duke too: who from thenceforward hath not cared how almoſt he expoſed the King his Brother, by engaging of him in continual Troubles for his ſake; nor how cloſely he united with the *French* Faction, who afterward wreak'd their Revenge for ſome time upon the Duke himſelf, but chiefly upon the King, by their Intrigues, in bringing the following *Popiſh Plot* upon the ſtage. Both the times the Duke was on this ſide, the King knew nothing of, or at leaſt they deſigned he ſhould believe ſo, but thought he was retired for Indiſpoſition, yet both times he brought Remittances for conſiderable Sums of Mony; and the *French* were highly diſpleaſed at him for his failure in the aforeſaid Match, and the ſubſequent Plot upon his Daughter; ſo far, as that they ſuſpended his Penſions, as they likewiſe did *Coleman*'s, which made them both incline to revolt to the *Spaniſh* Faction, and moved the Duke to ſome ſeeming Willingneſs to go over and command the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*, in the War then likely to be declared from *England* againſt *France*. For which they were cruelly revenged upon Mr. *Coleman*, by contriving his Ruin and Death; and againſt the Duke of *York* too, by the diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, in which they were highly inſtrumental, and by imploying the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and ſome other of their

Creatures in our Court, who were bigotted to their Interests, to promote the Bill of *Exclusion*, that so that Prince might be brought under a necessity, as they thought, to return to, and absolutely to rely upon them. For when, in those troublesom Times, the Duke was forced to retire to *Brussels*, the *French* King was heard to say, *That had he followed his Counsel, and been constant to him, he should not have needed to retire to* Brussels, *or to any other Place but* France. But however, I find all was accommodated again afterward, and the Duke got closer in with them than ever, when the Whig-party, as they called it, was quashed, and things were ripe for another Plot, called, *The Pr*——— *one*. But however, before that Breach we have spoken of with the Duke and *Coleman*, they were resolved first to get some Service out of them; for finding after the Alliance with *Holland*, that our King was somewhat inclined to comply with his Parliament's and People's Instances, as well as those made to him by the Confederate Ministers, in declaring a War, in conjunction with them, against *France*, as appear'd by his Speech to the Parliament; but more by their voting a Fleet of ninety Capital Men of War, and an Army of nine and twenty thousand Land-Soldiers for that purpose; of all which it does appear, *Coleman* sent over hither a speedy Account: They then presently renew'd their Pensions to him, and to the Duke for some time, with a solemn Promise of a considerable Sum by way of Gratuity besides, if they could so prevail, as to sow such Dissensions between the King and Parliament, as might hinder those Preparations from being seconded by an actual Declaration of War; which they did effectually: for they had, by their Creatures, inspired into the Heads of the most stirring and active Members of the House, that the Pretence of War against *France* was only a Court-trick to get Mony, and a Standing-Army to enslave the Nation; and therefore it were not their best way to trust the King with Mony for that purpose, unless it were at certain moderate Sums, and with such Limitations as might secure them from any

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Arbitrary Designs, and from Intrigues with the *French*. And at the same time it was infused, with much Artifice, into the King's Head, that if he once ventured on a War against *France* without an unconditional Vote for sufficient Supplies, and that in very considerable Sums at once; as for example, of so much yearly as long as the War lasted; that he was an undone and lost Man, and would, by that false step, be infallibly unhinged. By which Artifices a Declaration of War against *France* was so long protracted, till the *Hollanders* despairing of any good from *England*, were necessitated to clap up a separate Peace (which the *French*, with all diligence, proposed to them) whilst the King and Parliament in *England* were disputing the Case about Funds for the War. My Lord, I have been necessitated to recapitulate some things here, which I remember I have written a larger Account of to your Lordship, and that because I could not well otherwise have brought in the succeeding part of Mr. *Coleman*'s History; who, to say nothing of the Duke, having effected the foremention'd Divisions, Jealousies and Disputes, claimed his promised Reward of Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador at *London*, having yet received but one Payment of it. But the sly Monsieur finding his Business was so far done, that he was able to go on with the rest himself without their assistance, put him off at first with fair Words; but *Coleman* still renewing his Instances, *Barillon* began to slight his Applications, and at last told him in downright Terms, he had no orders to pay him any more Mony: that he had received enough for the Business he had done; since there were other Instruments which he had there, who had done more, and been much more serviceable in it than himself: And in a word, That his Master, the *French* King, had no further occasion for the Service of such a saucy, impertinent, and inconsiderable Fellow as he was. *Coleman* was nettled to the quick at this unexpected Treatment, which he conceiv'd he had not deserved at their hands; and therefore he reply'd again as warmly, saying, 'That for his part he

'had

'had neglected much greater Rewards than what he de-
'manded of him, and which were his juſt Due, which
'he might have had from the Confederate Party; and
'that now ſince he found he was ſo ſlighted, he ſhould
'take care to let them ſee they ſhould find the miſs of his
'Services, by what he would, and was reſolved to do for
'the other ſide, and that he queſtioned not but to bring
'the Duke his Maſter to be quickly of his mind.' *Baril-lon* thereupon anſwered, 'That his Maſter would be ſure
'to find them ſuch Imployment in a ſhort time, that they
'ſhould have no leiſure to think of ſerving the Confede-
'rates, or hunting the *French* in *Flanders*; having already
'ſuch a pack of Hounds in readineſs, as would quickly
'ſnap him, and hunt his Maſter too off his Legs, if he
'did but offer to depart ſo much from his own Intereſt,
'as to quit theirs.'

After this mutual Huff, *Coleman* going to take his leave of Monſieur *Barillon*, the *Frenchman* retaining ſtill a ſpice of *French* Civility, came to attend him to the Gate, where, ſeeing *Coleman*'s Coach ſtanding right before it; 'Sir, ſaid he briskly to him, what is the mean-
'ing of this? that your Coach ſtands right before my
'Door, that is no Place for a Perſon of your mean Sta-
'tion and Quality.

'That's ſtrange, Monſieur, anſwered *Coleman*, I
'ſhould be of meaner Quality now, than I uſed to be:
'there, you know well enough, it uſed to ſtand; but
'pray where would you have it to ſtand then, continu'd
'he?' 'Two or three Doors off, cryed *Barillon*.'
'So indeed, ſaid *Coleman*, I uſed to place it, when I
'went to a Bawdy-houſe; but I did not take yours to
'be ſuch till now, and ſo adieu.' It was but a few days after this rencounter, my Lord, that *Coleman* was ſeized for the Popiſh Plot; at the news of which, the Diſcourſe was at the *French* Secretaries, that *Cole-man* would certainly pay dear for having adventur'd to diſpleaſe the King their Maſter: for that they had per-ſuaded the conceited Fool to keep his Papers all by him, which they flatter'd him, were rare Compoſitions, and Specimens of incomparable Wit and Parts, in which

they

they ſaid were things, not only enough to hang him out of the way, but ſo to hamper the King and Duke too, and involve them in ſuch Troubles, that they would be glad to quit all their Thoughts of leaning towards the Confederates, and ſo return again to their Intereſt at laſt, as moſt expedient for them; and that they had employed ſuch Tools as would not fail to diſcover all their Intrigues, and be, in ſpite of their Teeth, forced to Acts of Repentance and Sorrow for what they had done. And in fine, when *Coleman* was condemned, and the Duke would have interpoſed for a Pardon for him, Monſieur *Barillon* oppoſed it tooth and nail; and ſaid, 'He ought 'to be ſacrificed upon that occaſion, and that if he were 'not, the King his Maſter would find means to have a 'worſe Diſcovery made, than all that had yet been made 'to appear out of his Papers, or otherwiſe.' After *Coleman* was hanged, his Wife reduced to a forlorn ſtate, retired into *France*, and preſented a Petition to the *French* King, to this effect:

'That her late Husband, beſides his many other 'good and timous Services done to his moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty, had upon his Inſtances by his Miniſter at '*London*, hired an Houſe in *Deans-yard* in *Weſtminſter*, 'of a conſiderable Rent, ſome time before that Seſſion 'of Parliament, wherein the Matter of a War againſt 'the Kingdom of *France* was to be debated and agitated, 'for the better Convenience of treating ſome Members 'of Parliament, and ſome other Gentlemen that had 'Influence over them: That he had expended conſide-'rable Sums of Mony that way; as he had done in like 'manner among other uſeful Inſtruments he had in the 'Country, as well as the City, for promoting his Majeſ-'ty's Service in *England*: for which he had declined 'much greater Rewards from the *Spaniſh*, *Imperial* and '*Dutch* Miniſters, and other Agents, than he expected or 'deſired from him, whom he ſerved more by Inclina-'tion than Intereſt. And that he had had the good 'Fortune happily to effect the great Task impoſed on 'him by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Commands, in di-

'viding

'viding the King of *England* and his Parliament, and 'breaking the neck of the intended War againſt *France*: 'That yet for all that, when his Work was accompliſh-'ed, Monſieur *Barillon* had refuſed to pay him his Ex-'pences; and never had given him one quarter of the 'Sum he was to have had for that Affair, and much leſs 'the Expences he had been at. And that now at laſt he 'had loſt his dear Life for ſerving his Majeſty; by which 'ſad Diſaſter, ſhe and her Family were ruined, and re-'duced to Miſery and great Want; ſhe therefore hum-'bly beſought his Majeſty, if he would be pleaſed to do 'nothing elſe for her, that he would order her the Pay-'ment of her Husband's Arrears, *&c.*'

'To which Petition, my Lord, this Court reply'd, That Mr. *Coleman*, her Husband, had had more Mony from them than he deſerved. That he had been a falſe in-conſtant Raſcal, and had brought himſelf to that ſhame-ful end by his own Folly and Knavery; having had the Impudence to threaten his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, to turn cat in pan, *&c.* That his Majeſty had nothing to ſay to her, and would not give her one Farthing. Which ſur-ly Anſwer ſo thunder-ſtruck the poor Woman, that ſhe returned over into *England* ſo enraged, and in ſuch a dreadful Fit of Deſpair, that ſhe miſerably cut her own Throat, at her Lodging in *London*. Which Relation and Copy of the Petition, I had delivered me by an *Engliſh* Prieſt, who was *Coleman*'s Wife's Confeſſor, and which after I had tranſcribed it, I delivered to the *Engliſh* E—— to be ſent to King *Charles* II. that he might ſee how his Brother's Creatures ſerved him: but how he repre-ſented it, is beyond my knowledg to tell. I have been tedious, and am afraid troubleſome to your Lordſhip by a long Epiſtle; but the Curioſities whereof the various parts of it are compoſed, will I hope be as powerful a Le-nitive againſt any Diſpleaſure I may have incurred from your Lordſhip, as they have been Incitatives for me to write it; who am,

My Lord,

Your moſt Humble, and moſt Obedient Servant.

Paris, April 7. 1683. N. S.

LET-

LETTER LXIX.

Of the Marquiſs de Louvois's *being in* England *ſeveral times in King* Charles *the Second's Reign, and about what Buſineſs.*

My Lord,

IN my laſt to your Lordſhip, I have given ſome Intimations concerning the Duke's being in *France*, and cloſetted by the *French* King; and of Mr. *Coleman's* Negotiations and Imbroilments with this Court, together with his Wife's calamitous Life, and tragical Death; which I believe were wholly new to you: and I cannot think but that of the Marquiſs *de Louvois*, our great Miniſter of State here, his being again and again in *England*, and cloſetted there with the King and Duke, muſt be equally ſtrange and ſurprizing to you. But tho it be a Secret, I verily believe, to all other Perſons on your ſide, except the two forementionʼd, yet it is not ſo entirely ſuch here, eſpecially in our Office. That he has been wanting ſometimes, and hardly any of his Family knew what was become of him, is moſt certain; and upon ſuch Occaſions, it was ſometimes given out he was indiſpos'd in the Country; ſometimes that he was ſent into *Flanders*, *Alſatia*, &c. whither he afterwards went actually with ſo much Expedition, tho he rode in a Litter, that his Journeys into *England* were never perceiv'd. I find two ſeveral Occaſions wherein he was cloſetted.

1. About a year before the breaking out of the ſecond *Dutch* War, when he was ſent particularly to help the King and his Brother to concert the Preparations for, and manner of carrying on the War.

2. To concert Measures how to stave off the Effects of the *Popish Plot*, by remitting of Mony to dissolve Parliaments, and by other Methods, when they saw they were carrying things farther than the *French* Interest required to have them driven, but upon condition the two Brothers should not depart from their Interests for the future; to complot Measures how to ensnare the Protestant Party, and especially the high Patriots in a Plot that should quite extinguish the Popish one, and give the Duke of *York* opportunity to cut off all those who stood in the way between him and the Crown, and between the Crown and absolute Power. All which Closetings have been very short as well as private, and perform'd with incredible Diligence, and of which this is all I am able to inform your Lordship, and with which I conclude; remaining,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's
Most Humble Servant.

Paris, May 16.
1683. N.S.

LETTER LXX.

Of that call'd the Presbyterian Plot.

My Lord,

I Was a little transported with Joy to find your Lordship's Name was not inserted in the List I have seen of Persons taken up for the Plot; I have had the Vanity to flatter my self, that some things that I have writ lately to your Honour concerning Monsieur *Louvois*'s Negotiations in *England*, may inspire you with a more than ordinary Caution upon such an occasion: wherein, when it shall lie with your Lordship's Conveniency to let me have a Line from you, I do not desire so much to be satisfy'd, as what Rules I am to observe for my future Conduct,

Conduct, in reſpect to my Correſpondence; ſince I have ſome reaſon to ſuſpect your Honour may be uneaſy under the preſent Circumſtances of things, and, I have heard, unſettled too. I have little to ſay at preſent how far the Miniſters of this Court are engag'd in ſtarting of this Conſpiracy; what I have formerly written concerning their Management of the ſeveral Factions in *England*, may give your Lordſhip ſome View of their Deſigns: but what they generally ſay of it, is, That it was now ſeaſonable to ſet up a Proteſtant one, as a freſh Game. And ſince by their ſtrong Concurrence, when they ſaw it time, they had enabled the King to ſtifle the other Popiſh one, and thereby diverted the Current of his Arms ready to fall upon them; it was neceſſary, having new Deſigns of Conqueſts in view (and what can it be but *Luxemburg*, block'd up by them laſt year?) to raiſe a new Diſturbance in his Dominions, which could not be better effected now, than by ſtarting a Plot of another ſtamp; which would not only incapacitate the King to interpoſe, and put a ſtop to their Career, but alſo be an effectual Means to make the holding of Parliaments impracticable at leaſt for a time, and tie him quite faſt in a manner to their King's Purſe-ſtrings, towards which they had by the other Plot made ſuch conſiderable Advances. I do preſume your Lordſhip retains the ſame *Engliſh* Spirit you were ever Maſter of, and are as conſtant, notwithſtanding all the Viciſſitudes of State that have happen'd in your time, which is the reaſon I retain ſtill my uſual Freedom; who am,

Paris, July 21. 1683. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXXI.

Of the Model of Ships ſent by King Charles *the Second to the* French *King*, &c.

My Lord,

I Do preſume it is a matter no longer doubted of, that our King is fallen in more than ever with the Intereſts of this Court; the many Models and Draughts of Ships which he has ſent over hither, and ſome whereof I have ſeen at the Marquiſs *de Louvois*'s, is a convincing Proof of it: though they are ſomewhat deſirous to give it another Term here, and ſay, His *Britannick* Majeſty is well known to be the only Prince in the World that underſtands Shipping the beſt; and that only out of a little Vanity, to ſhew his great Abilities in that way, he ſent divers Models, not only into *France*, but elſewhere alſo: though the real Cauſe, as I have heard it whiſper'd, was his want of Jealouſy, and withal to coaks as much Mony out of them as he could. And in order to enhance the ſame, he ſent alſo Artiſts over as well as Models; for which, by the Account I have ſeen, though it ſeems to be ſomewhat imperfect as to the Particulars, he hath already receiv'd at times above 600000 Pounds Sterling. Which is all the Particulars I could ever attain to in relation to this matter, that I know is the moſt ungrateful to your Lordſhip to underſtand, perhaps of any thing that has at any time dropped from my Pen, and therefore I am glad 'tis thus contracted; as I am always of an opportunity to acknowledge how much I am,

Paris, June 4.
1684. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
Moſt Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXXII.

The Conduct of the Court of France *towards the Duke of* York, *during his Abode in* Flanders *and* Scotland, *&c.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship will hardly believe the Treachery of the Ministers of this Court, who since I have known them, would stick at no manner of Villany to gain their ends; and our unhappy Princes have from time to time given them but too much opportunity to work their Designs through their own sides. And this I have already made to appear by several Instances to your Lordship, and shall further now, by observing, that notwithstanding his Royal Highness's Compliance with them in the Business of marrying his Daughter, so far as he could, and upon divers other Occasions, as I have formerly hinted; yet at the same time, when he was forc'd to retire to *Brussels*, they were very angry with him, and almost all the rest of the *English* Papists, because so many of them had seem'd zealous to serve the *Spanish* Interest, under the Duke in *Flanders*: nay, and the *French* King himself was heard to say, *That had he follow'd his Counsel, and had been constant to him, he should not have needed to retire to* Brussels, *or to any other place but* France; as I think I mention'd before to your Lordship. Though they seem'd afterward to mollify somewhat towards him, yet they set their Emissaries on work in *England* and *Scotland*, to deal with some Persons, about whom they had formerly got some light in Monsieur *Ruvigni*'s time, to get the Duke sent into *Scotland*, to make a Party there, while they privately engag'd the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, and the Exclusioners

in

in *England*, to do their utmoſt, both in Court and Parliament, to get him excluded from the Succeſſion; in hopes, and with this accurſed View, that *England* having proceeded ſo far, as to put him by the Succeſſion, *Scotland* would declare for him; and ſo the two Kingdoms be rent in ſunder, and afflicted with a tedious War, wherein they had reſolv'd to aſſiſt the latter. And yet, my Lord, 'tis ſtrange to think it, yet ſo it is, that they were not true to him even there; for they got it privately propos'd to a certain noble Family in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, deriv'd from the Blood Royal, that if they would put in a claim to the *Scotch* Crown, and throw off the Title of the two Brothers, upon Pretenſions to be ſuggeſted to them, and that *Scotland* would ſet up again for a Kingdom under a King of its own, and renew their antient League with *France*; they ſhould be aſſiſted effectually, and ſhould beſides have the Lands of the Dutchy of *Chatelleraut*, and the Honours and Lands of *Aubony*, &c. with many other Additions reſtor'd to them; and over and above all this, a large annual Penſion, and all the old Privileges granted formerly to the *Scotch* Nation renew'd, and conſiderably augmented. But though, my Lord, that Noble Family refus'd to hearken to theſe their treacherous Invitations, yet there cannot a greater Inſtance ſcarce be given of their villanous Deſigns than this, which I could not but communicate to your Lordſhip upon this occaſion; who am,

Paris, Sept. 6. 1684. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXXIII.

Of King Charles *the Second's Reſolution a little before his Death, to alter his Method of Government.*

My Lord,

I Am very well ſatisfy'd your Lordſhip muſt know, in a great meaſure, the preſent Reſolutions of the King, in reſpect to his future Government, when you know ſo well by whoſe Agency he was at firſt undeceiv'd, and by whoſe Counſel and Aſſiſtance he intends to proceed; but the Miniſters here have too many Agents ſtill about him to remain long ignorant of the Deſign, and are not a little alarm'd to underſtand his Majeſty hath reſolv'd to reſtore all Charters, to call a Parliament, and thereby to get a moderate Liberty ſettled on Diſſenters, and to have the Boundaries of Prerogative, Parliamentary Privileges, and Popular Liberty ſo clearly ſettled and explain'd, that there may ariſe no more Diſputes about them between King and People for the future; and that it ſhall be made Treaſon after that, even in Parliament, once to move any thing prejudicial to the King's declar'd and explain'd Prerogatives, or to the Parliament and Peoples declar'd Privileges and Liberties: and that all Officers, Military and Civil, ſhall be equally ſworn to maintain the one as well as the other. That the Duke, for the preſent, ſhall be ſollicited to go for *Scotland*, attended with ſuch Perſons as would take care to obſerve his Steps narrowly; and that in his abſence the Princeſs *Mary* be declar'd Heir Preſumptive to the Crown, and the Prince invited to reſide with her in *England* till the King's Death; and the Duke totally excluded, and con-

fin'd

fin'd to live at *Modena* or *Rome*, and not in this Kingdom, or elſewhere, but to have all his Revenues allow'd him: and that if he prove refractory, and refuſe to retire any where elſe but into *France*; that then he ſhall not only be depriv'd of his Revenue, but be altogether confin'd in ſome Caſtle in *England* under a good Guard, *&c.* I do not queſtion, my Lord, but this Matter is ſufficiently aggravated by the *French* Emiſſaries, and perhaps there may be ſomething more in it than I am able to fathom; however it was my Duty to tranſmit the ſame as I find it repreſented, though your Lordſhip may know much more truly the Fact, than,

Paris, Jan. 4. 1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LETTER LXXIV.

Of King Charles *the Second's Death.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip may expect I ſhould acquaint you how much ſurpriz'd I was at the News of the King's Death; but the Manner it was receiv'd here quite drown'd my Aſtoniſhment in that kind, and ſo it would any true *Engliſhman*, to ſee this Court have the News of his Majeſty's Death, or at leaſt pretend to have it, and give Orders for Mourning before our *Engliſh* Envoy had any ſuch notice given: ſo that when he came, according to Cuſtom, to give intimation of it, all the Court was ſeen in Mourning before night, and all Perſons of Note in this City the next day. I'll leave your Lordſhip to reflect upon the Tranſactions and Circumſtances of it, which, though comprehended in a few words, may afford a larger Field of Thought, than any thing my Mind

can

can at preſent ſuggeſt to me, or my Intelligence reach unto; but it puts me in mind of ſomewhat, I think, I have writ in my laſt to your Lordſhip, and ſo I ſuppoſe it may do your Honour, if it has not already. I am,

Paris, Feb. 22. 1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Humble Servant.

LETTER LXXV.

Of King James (*when Duke of* York) *his Perverſion to the* Popiſh Religion; *how and when it was done,* &c.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip cannot imagine how over-joy'd both Court and Country are here, upon the News of the King's going publickly to the *Roman Catholick Chappel*, on his Aſſumption of the Crown; and many and various Diſcourſes it has occaſion'd concerning his firſt embracing the *Roman Faith*: an Account whereof may not perhaps be unpleaſing to your Lordſhip; and therefore I ſhall endeavour to gratify your Honour therein, to the utmoſt of my power. Some have been of opinion, that the Zeal, Example, and Exhortations of the Queen his Mother, to whom he ſeemed always to pay the greateſt Deference, had wrought this Change early in him; and that the long Converſation he had had with thoſe of the *Roman Communion* in *France*, *Flanders*, and other places, had fortify'd him in the ſame Sentiments he had before imbibed, and which at laſt appeared in an open Profeſſion. But, however this has a very great appearance of Truth, it's utterly deny'd here; and averred with great Elogiums upon him, that it hapned to him as it did to one of the Antients, as recorded in Holy Writ,

that

that he ſhould find in the Gall of a Monſter, that was about to devour him, that wherewith to cure him of his Blindneſs. For that it was in reading of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, written by a Proteſtant Author, that he came to ſee the Error wherein his Birth had engaged him. That when he was obliged, when in Exile, to leave the Kingdom of *France*, and to retire to *Bruſſels*; having leiſure enough to read, he lighted there upon the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, written by Dr. *Heylin*, which he read with much attention; and notwithſtanding the many ſtrained Pretences (ſay they) which the Proteſtants made uſe of to colour the Schiſm of their Country, he clearly ſaw that their Separation, ſo plainly contrary to the Maxim of Unity, which is the Foundation of the Church, was nothing elſe but a mere Effect of Human Paſſions: That it was the Diſſolute Life, and Incontinency of King *Henry* VIII. the Ambition of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Policy of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Avarice of thoſe that were greedy to ſeize upon the Revenues of the Church, had been the principal Cauſes of that Change, wherein the Spirit of God had no concern. That upon reflecting with himſelf, That God of old made uſe of Prophets of a moſt Holy Life, to be the Guides of his People, and to intimate his Will unto them, in reſpect to Religion; and upon the change of the Divine Diſpenſation, the Apoſtles inſpired with Heavenly Vertue, and more like to diſembody'd Angels than carnal Men, preached the Goſpel; and that upon Diſorders, and Irregularities, both under the one and the other Teſtament, they were not carnal Perſons, vindictive Souls, ambitious Spirits, that had preached Reformation; but Men full of *Moſes*'s Spirit, or of *Chriſt*'s, the only Channels worthy to receive the Waters which run from his living Sources, ſo as there might be no room left to render them ſuſpected of Corruption or Falſity: he from thenceforward became a *Roman Catholick* in his heart. That he had acquainted the King his Brother with it, ſoon after the Reſtoration, who highly applauded him; but engaged him to put that reſtraint upon himſelf, as

to

to keep it ſecret. But that ſome years after, having by his Conduct, given occaſion to others to obſerve his Steps more warily, and finding he was not cordial to the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt; they ſay here, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and two of his Brethren, remonſtrated the ſame to him; that he heard them with much Patience, and did not decline to confer with them: but that their Conferences and Arguments were ſo far from ſtaggering and ſeducing of him, that they confirm'd him the more in the Faith. And they ſay farther, That tho it was given out in *England*, that the late Dutcheſs of *York*'s Complaiſance to the Duke her Husband had wrought her Converſion to the *Romiſh* Church, in the Communion of which ſhe dy'd; yet it was notoriouſly falſe: for that ſhe was brought over by a very remarkable Event, next to a Miracle, by reading the ſame Book that had converted the Duke. But I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip no more with a Matter, which, I am ſure, you cannot think of, without Trouble of Mind; and ſo I remain,

My Lord,

Paris, March 2. 1685. N. S.

Your Honour's to Serve

and Command.

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LETTER LXXVI.

Of the Duke of Monmouth's *being in* Holland; *and how King* James's *Deſign to ſeize him there miſcarry'd.*

My Lord,

THE Misfortunes of the Duke of *Monmouth* in the King his Father's time, are better known to your Lordſhip, than I can pretend to inform you; and that when he was forced to quit *England* for his own Safety, and that it came to be known he was retired into *Holland*, the Duke and *French* Emiſſaries never left importuning the King to ſend to the States and Prince of *Orange*, to drive him from thence; alledging continually, that there were very great Honours done him by the States, and eſpecially by the Prince of *Orange*, who had given his Troops Orders to ſalute him at their Reviews, whenever he came to ſee them, deſigning thereby to make that Republick, and eſpecially the Prince of *Orange*, more and more obnoxious to the King: ſo that he gave at laſt Orders to his Ambaſſador, Mr. *Chudley*, at the *Hague*, to forbid the *Engliſh* Troops in that Service to ſhew the Duke any reſpect. Having gained this Point, and that they might embroil the King and Prince of *Orange* the more, *Chudley* was inſtructed to make the Officers of the ſaid Regiments acquainted with the aforementioned Orders, without firſt giving the Prince notice thereof, under whoſe Command they were, which they knew well enough the Prince could not but reſent, as he did accordingly; threatning *Chudley* for interfering with his Authority without his leave: and this, upon the Ambaſſador's Complaint to the King his Maſter, which

which was sufficiently improved and aggravated by the Duke and *French* Agents about him, incensed him so against the Prince, that he dispatched Letters to *Chudley*, forbidding him to see the Prince. And thus Matters stood when the late King died; but the Brother succeeding, he set all his Engines on work, how he might get the Duke of *Monmouth* into his clutches dead or alive. But the *French* Agents, my Lord, did not think that now their Interest, which, in the late Reign, they would have given any Mony to effect; and therefore by their Correspondents in *Holland*, they got the Duke secretly advertised of the Danger, who thereupon withdrew to *Brussels*. I know, my Lord, they gave it out, that the Prince of *Orange*, by his Favourite Monsieur *Bentink*, got the Duke made acquainted therewith, and that he gave him Mony to go to *Brussels*, (it was both honourably and charitably done of him, if it was so, to a distressed Gentleman) the *French* intending thereby to make his Father-in-law more irreconcilable to his Highness, now he was King, than when he was Duke of *York*: tho this last was to dissemble it for a time; and, upon his Accession to the Throne, to testify to the Prince, the sincere Desire he had to live with him, rather as a Father, than an Ally and neighbouring King. I have had sufficient Experience, my Lord, of your great Honour, Integrity, and good Affection; which makes me thus bold in a matter so nice at this time: and so concludes,

My Lord,

Paris, March 17.
1685. N. S.

Your Humble Servant.

LETTER LXXVII.

Of King James's *being crowned by the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

My Lord,

IT has been a matter of much Diſcourſe and Reflection here, that our King ſhould be crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and not by one of the *Roman* Communion: It was expected, that ſince he had begun ſo briskly and openly to declare himſelf for *Rome*, he would not have ſtuck at being inaugurated by a *Roman* Biſhop. I find by the return made hither upon this Subject, that his Inclinations were violent enough for the latter; but that the Reaſon of his Non-compliance was, that having at his Aſſumption of the Crown declared to the Council, and by them to his People, That he would maintain the Church and State of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſhed; and that the Ceremony of his Coronation was ſuch as the Laws of the Land did preſcribe: he thought it was a little too early to begin, and that by ſo publick an Act, which, to be ſure, would be interpreted not only as the moſt manifeſt Violation of the National Conſtitution, but the *Preludium* to a deſpotick Power, which no Man knew the end of. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a Repetition of the Arguments uſed here by the Gentlemen of the *Roman* Church, *pro* and *con*, upon the Lawfulneſs and Unlawfulneſs of ſuch a Compliance by a Catholick King to the Church of *England*, which, tho the eſtabliſhed one, they look upon to be falſe to the Truth, as being Matters which I ſuppoſe your Lordſhip cares not for: And therefore having nothing further wherewith to entertain

you,

you, that is worth tranſmitting, I conclude; ſubſcribing my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Honour's

moſt Humble Servant.

Paris, May 6. 1685. N. S.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Of the Duke of Monmouth's *and the Earl of* Argyle's *Invaſions and Overthrows, and of the Prince of* Orange's *offering to ſerve againſt the former; how his Offer was maliciouſly interpreted, and rejected.*

My Lord,

THE Reaſon of my long Silence to your Lordſhip, I hope, will not be interpreted by you, as any Forgetfulneſs, much leſs Neglect of your Honour's Commands and Expectation. I am too ſenſible of the many Obligations that have been heaped upon me from time to time, to be guilty of ſo notorious a Crime; but the want of ſomewhat that was ſolid and grateful to your Lordſhip, has been one genuine Cauſe that obſtructed my Correſpondence; to which I may add what your ſelf knows very well, the private Orders given in *England* to open all Letters, whether Domeſtick or Foreign: and ſince I had for ſo long a time continued to write to your Lordſhip, and that undiſcover'd, I was not willing for want of a little prudent Caution and Suſpenſion in ſuch a juncture, either to expoſe your Lordſhip to any hazard, or thereby for ever to exclude my ſelf from any farther Correſpondence with you; whom I ſo much love and honour. But now, my Lord, underſtanding that the Storm is over in *England*, by the Defeat and Death

of the Duke; as we have had ſome days ago an Account from *Scotland* of the like Misfortune to have attended the Earl of *Argyle*; I have adventured to ſalute you with theſe Lines, and to tell my Thoughts freely upon the matter. I muſt confeſs, I never had any great opinion of either of the Expeditions, becauſe concerted by Men who had very different ends in what they did; the Duke and ſome others for Monarchy, but the greateſt part Republicans: and therefore I do not wonder the whole hath miſcarry'd; eſpecially when I can aſſure your Lordſhip, both the one and the other were (tho very privately) abetted by *French* Agents to undertake ſuch an Expedition. Such a Procedure may well be wonder'd at, I confeſs, ſince there was apparently ſo little advantage like to ariſe to the *French* Court therefrom; but beſides their loving always to fiſh in troubled Waters, they have ſomewhat in them that is very like the Devil, who loves to do Miſchief, tho with no Benefit to himſelf. But whatever the World may think hereof, thoſe who are fled, that eſcaped from either Kingdom after the Defeat, are as kindly received here, as thoſe who formerly fled from the *Popiſh Conſpiracy*; but yet they are daily ſifted and examined by the Spies that continually haunt them. I would gladly know, might I have the Honour, your Lordſhip's Sentiments of both Deſcents, and the Miſcarriage of them. To be plain with you, I own I have very different Apprehenſions of them, now they are over, than I had at firſt: and the rather, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* ſo much reſented it; tho moſt maliciouſly interpreted by the King, and his *Popiſh Council*, whetted on by *Gallican* Agents. When the Prince had the firſt News of the Duke's Landing in *England*, he acquainted Mr. *Skelton* the King's Ambaſſador, that the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho he were a Perſon but of indifferent Parts, yet he had a warlike *Genius*, and had more Experience and Skill in the Art of War, than moſt of them employed againſt him. That for his part, if the King his Father-in-law pleaſed, he would aſſiſt him, on that occaſion, not only with his Troops, but with

his

his Perſon alſo; and to that end was ſending Mr. *Bentinck* over to *England*, to know the King's pleaſure. But *Skelton*, malevolent enough of himſelf, and farther influenc'd with Malice againſt the Prince by *French* Incendiaries, took care to inform the King before *Bentinck* came, that ſuch Aſſiſtance as was propoſed by the Prince was very dangerous, and much to the ſame purpoſe: ſo that upon Mr. *Bentinck*'s Motion, the King anſwer'd, That their common Intereſt required, that the Prince ſhould ſtay in *Holland*; and gave ſuch further Expreſſions of his Mind upon that occaſion, that plainly diſcover'd, that ſuch a Zeal in the Prince was eſteem'd unſeaſonable, and not free from Suſpicion. With which, and a grateful Acknowledgment of all your Lordſhip's Favours to me and my Family upon all Occaſions; I ſhall now conclude, and for ever remain,

Paris, Aug. 24. 1685. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER LXXIX.

Of the Methods propoſed, and Arguments uſed to King James, *for carrying on the Diſpenſing Power.*

My Lord,

THAT the King intends to aſſume a Power into his hands of diſpenſing with *Penal Laws* againſt *Recuſants*, I believe your Lordſhip may be ſenſible of by this time; ſince it's manifeſt, that notwithſtanding the Parliament's Remonſtrance to the contrary, he retains the Popiſh Officers ſtill in his Service; and that it is ſo far from being a Secret here, that I can oblige your Lord-

Lordſhip with ſome of thoſe Methods and Arguments ſuggeſted to him, by the Agency of this Court, to carry it onward; wherein, it is more than whiſper'd here, he has fully acquieſced. It was thought adviſable, conſidering the violent Humour of the Nation againſt the Admiſſion of ſuch Perſons, either into Military or Civil Offices; and that all the Cry was, That the King had not kept his Word, but did thereby infringe their Laws and Liberties; to bring the Matter into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to have the Diſpenſing Power there argued upon a particular Caſe: but, to make ſure of the Judges beforehand, to favour ſuch a Procedure, the King was told, could he gain ſuch a Point, his Buſineſs were done for ever; though, at the ſame time, it was his undoubted Prerogative to diſpenſe with Laws, being an eſſential Right, and an Uſage in *England* as antient as the Kingdom; that it was in being at all times, and in all Reigns, that there were ſeveral Acts, wherein there had been proviſion made for ſuch a Reſervation to the King; that the Term of *Nonobſtante*, which was ſo common, was always a diſpenſing with ſome Law; that the Commutation of Puniſhments are no leſs a Proof thereof; and how much more were Remiſſions, Pardons, the Reſtoration of Criminals to their Goods again? *&c.* That there were Precedents to be met with, wherein the Kings of *England* had ſuſpended the Effects of Laws, not only by Diſpenſations, regarding particular and ſingle Perſons, but by a general Suſpenſion, in regard to the whole Kingdom: That his Brother had done ſo in Caſes of the Statute relating to Carriages, whereof there was not the leaſt Complaint in Parliament; neither was it ſo much as once ſaid, that he had thereby exceeded the juſt Bounds of his Authority: That the ſame had been done by *Henry* the Seventh, his great Anceſtor, and *Solomon* of *England*, in reſpect to the Act that prohibited the Continuation of Sheriffs in their Offices above one year; which in Council was declar'd null and impracticable, becauſe that thereby the King was diveſted of his Regal Power in diſpoſing his Subjects.

I do not queſtion, my Lord, but you will ſoon hear of the Effects of ſuch Counſel, but whether to your Satisfaction therein, I have as great reaſon to doubt, as I have a deſire to promote it, and ever ſhall to the beſt of my power; who am,

Paris, Nov. 13. 1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your very humble Servant.

LETTER LXXX.

Of the unjuſt Complaints of the French Clergy *againſt the* Reformed *in* France.

My Lord,

THE Ruin of the *Reformed* in this Kingdom is as much precipitated as that of a *Proteſtant Church* is deſign'd ſomewhere elſe, and which I believe your Lordſhip, by this time, is pretty well perſuaded of; and to this end the Popiſh Clergy have accoſted the King with a ſevere Remonſtrance againſt them, the Sum whereof, for want of more entertaining News, I ſhall write to your Lordſhip at this time: They began with the hardieſt Lye they could have invented, ſaying, That there was nothing included in their Complaint, but what was moſt neceſſary, and could be moſt clearly juſtify'd and made good; whereas it is moſt evident, that every tittle of it tends to deſtroy and perſecute, and is grounded upon the moſt manifeſt Falſities in the World. Then they begin to charge the *Reformed* with calumniating, and falſly accuſing the *Catholicks*, that they did not believe the Truths of the Faith, as they expreſs it; whereas the *Proteſtant* Divines here have ſo far been compliant, as to teſtify from time to time, that the *Roman Church* retain'd ſtill thoſe Truths that were eſſential to Chriſtia-

nity, in that ſhe makes profeſſion to believe the Trinity in Unity; the Incarnation of the Son of God; the Redemption of Sinners by the Price of his Blood; and divers other Articles contain'd in the antient Creeds. Then they proceed, ſaying, That the Deſign of the *Paſtoral Adverti ſement* in 1681. was to oblige the Reformed to acknowledge, that their Separation was not grounded but upon Suppoſitions and Jealouſies; and they hugged themſelves, that the many Converſions which had been wrought ſince that time, have been almoſt all procured by this Conſideration, which they call an invincible Argument, that as there could never have been any juſt Cauſe of Separation, all thoſe alledged by the pretended Reformed could never have any Solidity; That the Proteſtant Miniſters did their utmoſt to hinder the People to profit by that ſame Advertiſement, either by deterring of them from reading of the ſame, or elſe by giving falſe Explications thereof, as they were wont to do of the Holy Scriptures, and Works of the Fathers; adding farther, That the Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion had been permitted by the King's Predeceſſors proviſionally only, and by Reaſons which have no longer Subſiſtence: That though the Clergy had very good Reaſons to urge it ſo as to require a Revocation of the Edicts which contain'd this Permiſſion, yet that it was not their preſent Deſign to inſiſt upon that Point: That it was now the only Favour they pray'd for, to repreſs the Calumnies of the *Reformed* againſt the *Roman Church*, which were not, and which could not be allow'd by any Edict, being an unhappy Liberty, which the Miniſters themſelves might be aſham'd of: That ſuch a Suppoſition and Calumny were Crimes condemn'd by all Laws, both Human and Divine, and that the Reformed durſt not maintain that thoſe Exceſſes ought to be permitted, nor to make their Complaints, if the King ſhould forbid them to commit them.

Then they went to ſpeak of the Method they had thought on, to make the King acquainted with the Truth of

of their Complaints: they drew up in two Columns the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and that, which they said, the Reformed imputed to them, to the end it might be easier for the King to compare them; and said most malignantly, that they had avoided the relating of many things which exceeded all the Bounds of Modesty, and which St. *Paul* himself would not have as much as named among the Faithful, to the end they might create a Suspicion, by these pretended Calumnies, of somewhat that was yet blacker than what had appear'd in the Passages which they had recited. They protested, that they would never have made any Complaint of the Reformed, had the Matters in question referred only to the Persons of the Bishops; and that on the contrary, they would have been content to be deprived of their Power, in order to testify, by their Patience and voluntary Forgetfulness of those Outrages that were done them, that singular Charity which they retain'd for them; but that they could not neglect the Honour of the Church, attack'd by the Calumny of the Ministers, nor the Conversion and Salvation of a great Number of her Children, which they retain'd in the Error of these false Suppositions: wherefore they concluded after all, that the King would be pleased to repress a Malignity that was so contrary to the Principles of Christianity, as also to the Rules of Natural Justice; and consequently,

1. That he would renew the Prohibitions already made to the Reformed, of using injurious and opprobrious Terms, in speaking of the Articles and Mysteries of the *Roman Faith*.

2. That he should forbid them to attribute to the *Catholick Faith* any other Doctrine than that of its Profession of Faith, nor any of those Errors which they had till then the Rashness to impute unto her.

You need not doubt, my Lord, of the Success of this Remonstrance, and of a Declaration in time, answering all the Points hereof to the full. There is room enough for reflecting upon the Court's Conduct herein, but I shall forbear that part, leaving it entirely to your Lord-

Lordſhip's known Wiſdom and Judgment, and crave leave both now and always to profeſs how much I am, and deſire to approve my ſelf to be,

Paris, July 27.
1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's
to Serve and Obey.

LETTER LXXXI.

Of the Declaration put out by the French *King, upon the Remonſtrance of the* Popiſh Clergy *againſt the* Reformed, *the Month of* Auguſt, 1685.

My Lord,

I Have in my laſt to your Lordſhip, of *July* the 27th N. S. taken notice of the Popiſh Clergy's unjuſt Complaint to the *French* King, againſt the *Reformed* here; and now I ſhall, with preſuming on your good Leave, give you ſome Hints upon the *Declaration* that was publiſh'd here ſome days ago in conformity to the ſaid *Remonſtrance*; to which the King condeſcended ſo far, that the Motives thereof are almoſt drawn word for word from the Requeſt it ſelf. All ſorts of Perſons are thereby ſtrictly forbid to preach and write againſt the Faith, or the Doctrine of the *Romiſh Church*, and to lay to the Catholicks charge thoſe Opinions which they allow not of, and not ſo much as to ſpeak directly nor indirectly any manner of way whatſoever concerning the *Catholick Religion*; enjoining the *Reformed Miniſters* to teach only in their Sermons the Tenets of their own Religion, and Rules of Morality, without the Intermixture of any other matter whatever. But alas, the Miſchief did

did not ſtop here, for all Perſons are prohibited to print, ſell, or lend any other Books concerning Religion, beſides ſuch as contain the Profeſſion of their Faith, their Prayers, and ordinary Rules of their Diſcipline. It doth moreover order the Suppreſſion of all ſuch Books as have been written againſt the *Catholick Religion*, by thoſe of the pretended *Reformed Religion*, and ſtrictly forbids either to print or lend any ſuch Books for the future; thoſe Miniſters and others of the *Reformed*, that make default herein, are liable to great Fines, perpetual Baniſhment, and the Confiſcation of all their Goods; the Places where the Miniſters ſhould preach againſt the Articles of the Edict, to loſe the Right they had to exerciſe the ſame Function for ever; and the Printers and Bookſellers, in caſe of their offending in any kind, to forfeit five hundred Livres, and for ever to loſe the Freedom of keeping open Shops.

And thus, my Lord, you ſee this Court has ſhut up the Miniſters Mouths in all matters of Controverſy, and leave that Liberty only to the *Roman Catholick* Divines, thereby preparing of them for an aſſured Victory: and hereby, beſides that the Miniſters are reduced to be ſilent, and not to concern themſelves, as to the greateſt part of the Articles of the Confeſſion of their Faith, which conſiſts in the Rejection of the Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, as falſe and contrary to the Doctrine of the Goſpel; that they might effectually preclude them from the Right they had to complain of this unjuſt Dealing, the King, by way of addition, in the Preface to his Edict, to the Reaſons which the Clergy's Petition had ſuggeſted to him, has inſerted, That it was enough for the Miniſters of a Religion, tolerated in the Kingdom, to teach their own Tenets, without being carry'd into Diſputes againſt the publick and prevailing Religion, which alſo is therein call'd the True One. But one ſhould think this Edict were as needleſs as many others, ſeeing there are not now paſt twenty *Reformed Churches* in the Kingdom, where they have Liberty to preach; but there ſeems to be an hidden Deſign couch'd

under

under it; and it is juſtly to be fear'd, that after they have ſuppreſs'd the Reformation in all the Countries under the *French* Dominions, they have thereby made proviſion, that the Doctrine of Truth ſhall not be maintain'd in private Families, and never have that means to riſe up again out of its Ruins, by the reading of ſuch Books as teach it; wherefore they have taken care to prepare Reaſons for the depriving the Reformed of Books of this nature, and to eſtabliſh a kind of Inquiſition over their Works, which ſhall not concede to any one the liberty either to read them, or keep them by him. But of this, I ſhall be able to give a fuller Account in my next, and ſhall therefore defer it; and ſo I remain,

Paris, Sept. 2.
1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER LXXXII.

Of the Suppreſſion of Proteſtant Books in France.

My Lord,

I Have, in the Cloſe of my laſt Letter to your Lordſhip hinted ſomewhat concerning the Suppreſſion of Proteſtant Books in this Kingdom; I have ſince ſeen a Catalogue which contain'd almoſt five hundred Authors, whoſe Works are all condemn'd. Some Men in the World love to put the Cheat upon themſelves; ſo to heighten the Number of ſuch Books, they have here repeated ſome of them more than once; but they have been alſo as careful to forget ſeveral others, as the Works of the Learned *Grotius*, *Voſſius*, and many more, whoſe Writings are oppoſite to the *Roman* Church: but your

your Lordſhip, I believe, is no Stranger to the ſly Practice of that Church on this Head, and how the Members of it have, of a long time, endeavour'd to perſuade the World, that theſe illuſtrious Perſons had re-enter'd into their Party; that they were willing to retain an honourable Remembrance of their Names, though it be certain in the main, that the greateſt part of what they had writ, was as remote from Truth, as the Authors were from the Communion of their Church: that *Grotius* himſelf, who hath carry'd his Complaiſance towards the *Roman* Church much farther than any other, yet he never rang'd himſelf of her ſide by an open Profeſſion, and did ſtill retain divers Sentiments that were very contrary to the Court of *Rome* alſo; but that this Default might be remedied by a pious Fraud: and to the end they may one day perſuade the Simple and Ignorant, that all the Hereſies that have ſprung up in theſe laſt Ages of the World, are as ſo many Tenets of the *Calviniſts*; they have not only join'd the *Lutheran* and *Arminian* Books to them, but alſo thoſe of the *Socinians*, and the Works of *Spinoſa*. And they have not, my Lord, contented themſelves to condemn the Books which have been written by the Reformed againſt the Church of *Rome*, but they have alſo hemm'd in Books that refer only to pure Morality; and which aſtoniſhes many here, the Theſes alſo of *Joſua de la Place*, without excepting that written by him againſt the *Socinians*, which is a Book that does not attack the Church of *Rome* in any one of her Tenets, and is only deſign'd to prove the Divinity of our Saviour, againſt the Sophiſtical Arguments of that Sect: the Tranſlation alſo of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, which *Amelot de la Houſſay*, a *Roman* Catholick Author, has put forth, is comprehended in the Catalogue of Heretical Books. I cannot be poſitive to affirm to your Lordſhip who had the chief hand in forming this Catalogue: it is generally attributed to the Archbiſhop of this City. But they tell us further, That becauſe he would have appear'd to have acted too much like a Patriarch, in obliging the reſt of the Biſhops to

take

take this Rule of their Conduct from him, he has, by the Intrigues of the Procurator General, brought his matters ſo to bear, that the Parliament here have committed it to his Care to make an Eſtimate of thoſe Books which ought to be ſuppreſſed. The Order was no ſooner publiſhed, but the King's Officers, and the Civil Magiſtrates, who were commanded to have the ſame put in execution, have accordingly made a Search for thoſe Books in all Bookſellers Shops, and alſo in the Elders and Miniſters Houſes.

The Archbiſhop, my Lord, has ſome Years ago made uſe of a very efficacious Method to hinder the Publication of any Book that deſerv'd to come into the World. I believe your Lordſhip may have ſeen the Hiſtorical and Chronological Tables of *John Rou*, who was a Perſon of great Learning, and whoſe Merit had acquired unto him the Favour and Protection of ſeveral Perſons of the higheſt Quality in the Kingdom of *France*; and which Tables he preſented to the Duke of *Monthauzier*. There is but a very ſlight mention in the Book, and that but by the by, of any of the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, and thoſe alſo which ſhe neither eſteems, nor looks on to be of the higheſt Conſideration and Importance: But theſe ſlight Touches, and the Honour which the Author had done to ſome Miniſters of the Reformed, to name them among the illuſtrious Doctors of their Age, raiſed the Indignation of all the Bigots in the Church againſt him, and ſo they got his Copies and Tables, which to his great Coſt and Expence he had got engraven, ſeized: and the poor Gentleman could not find an Ear open to the Offers he made to correct and amend thoſe Places which might give Offence; and all the Sollicitations and Friends he could make, could never prevail ſo far as to get Juſtice done him. There are ſome Perſons now who would redeem them for their own proper Uſe, but though it be nine or ten years ago ſince the forementionʼd Tranſaction, they have not yet forgot the noiſe it then made: and they will by no means part with them. Who knows but the crafty Je-

ſuits

suits have a mind to reserve them, to procure Honour to themselves by them, when they think the ingenious Person that contrived them may be no more remembred? for it must without Vanity be own'd, that they are compos'd with so much Art, Judgment, Order, and solid Learning, that there is no Man but may glory to be esteem'd the Author of them.

This Search, my Lord, after the suppressed Books, has been already made in several Places; and not only some other Bishops, who have no manner of Dependence upon the Archbishop of this City, but other Parliaments, we hear, have received the Catalogue, and put the Order of the Parliament here in execution. There are several of the Protestant Churches which have very considerable Libraries, but some of them already are rifled under this pretence by the *Romanists*; and 'tis not to be so much doubted as to be feared, the rest will soon run the same Fate. This Search has also reach'd the Houses of several particular Persons, whom they have been so severe upon, that they have not so much as left them their Bibles, because the Catalogue has put the Versions of the Bible made by Hereticks among the Number of prohibited Books: but surely these Translations, how faulty soever they may suppose them to be, cannot justly be put among the Number of those Books, wherein the Church of *Rome* was accus'd of holding Opinions which are not received by her, nor consequently be comprehended among those whom the Edict ordered the Suppression of. As for the Ministers, they are used very variously, the greatest part have not yet been molested upon the account of their Books; for perhaps, as they have already contriv'd to be rid of them by banishing them out of the Kingdom, they look upon it as a kind of a Suppression of the condemn'd Books, to suffer them to carry them away along with them: but I am assured they have given others of them much molestation in divers parts of the Kingdom; some of whose Books they have seiz'd, some confiscated, and caused others to be burnt: nay, they have been so outrageous

against

againſt many of them, as to diſpoſſeſs them of all their Manuſcripts and Sermons. I am ſorry I am forc'd to give your Lordſhip this Relation of the Miſery of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants of this Kingdom, becauſe I know it will trouble you, and inſpire you with a noble, though grievous ſympathizing of their Condition; but I am afraid the worſt is yet to come: I pray God to divert it, to whom I commend you and yours, and am,

Paris, Sept. 12. 1685. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's moſt Humble and Obedient Servant.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Of the Pope's Nuncio *oppoſing any new Form of* Doctrine, *deſign'd to be introduc'd by the General Aſſembly at* Paris, *for the eaſier Seduction of the Reformed to comply with the* Popiſh Church, *and be united to her.*

My Lord,

THIS Court is ſo taken up with forming Methods and Projects to bring the Reformed to a Compliance and Conformity to the *Roman Church*, that I do not find they mind any Foreign Affair at preſent: I have ſeen ſeveral *Formula's* conceiv'd in very eaſy Terms, for the promoting of the Re-union, as 'tis called by them; but among others, this that follows I thought very remarkable, and whereby your Lordſhip may ſee the Latitude they aſſume to themſelves, for the promoting their Intereſt; tho, no doubt, it is but a Bait to catch ſome of thoſe harmleſs Gudgeons: the words were theſe; 'I own and confeſs the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and

'*Roman*

'*Roman* Church, as it was in the time of the Apoſtles; 'and I renounce and abjure all thoſe Errors which have 'crept in ever ſince.' The Biſhop of *Meaux* hath, to make the way ſtill ſmoother, in his Preface to the Second Edition of his *Expoſtulation of the Catholick Doctrine*, gone ſo far as to ſay, 'We do not ſerve Images; 'God forbid we ſhould do ſo.' And indeed, there is ſome likelihood, that the Clergy would have ſtretched their Complaiſance yet farther this way, had not an unexpected Accident hinder'd it; for the Pope's *Nuncio* being informed, that the General Aſſembly, or rather the Arch-biſhop of this City, under the Covert of that Name, and by the Advice of the *Jeſuits*, were about to draw up and form a Profeſſion of *Faith*, more adapted for the Satisfaction of ſuch of the Reformed as became new Converts, than that of the *Roman Church*, he beſtirred himſelf, and interpoſed in his Maſter, the Pope's Name, and made ſeveral Remonſtrances to the King, upon the Authority which the *French* Clergy were about to aſſume to themſelves, of ſetting up other Forms of Doctrine, than that which the whole Catholick Apoſtolick Church had received ſince the Council of *Trent*. You cannot imagine, my Lord, how much this little unexpected Traverſe from the old Dad diſheartned the Court; whether it were that it came from a *Pope*, whom the King did not care for, or that they were afraid it might retard the Work of Converſion, is not certain: but the reſult was (as I have been firſt informed, and ſince ſeen ſomewhat verify'd by the conſequence) that the Pope ſhould be comply'd with; and the rather becauſe they were well ſatisfy'd with his inflexible Temper: and that, as they believed it would be dangerous to ſow Diviſion between the Clergy of *France* and the *Pope*, at a time when they were labouring to reduce all *Frenchmen* to the Unity of the Church; it would be more adviſable for them, to keep to the uſual Profeſſion of Faith. And now, my Lord, the Clergy give out every where, that they will not qualify any Points, but vaunt, that in reducing the Reformed, they will not

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put out one Taper that adorns the Altars. I ſhall not detain your Lordſhip at preſent, with any farther Account of a Matter, that ſuits not with your Guſto; tho I know you have Goodneſs enough to accept my Endeavours, tho never ſo contemptible in themſelves, and to pardon my Weakneſs; who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's very Obedient Servant.

Paris, Sept. 17. 1685.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Of Popiſh Guardians *impoſed upon* Proteſtant Children; *and of* Proteſtant Phyſicians, Chirurgeons, *and* Apothecaries *being forbidden to follow their* Practice; *with the pretended Reaſons alledged for ſuch a* Prohibition.

My Lord,

WHatever underhand brewing may be in *England* in matters of Religion, they are bare-fac'd enough here in carrying on their Deſigns for the Ruin of the Reformed Churches, tho ſtill they retain ſome ſpecious Pretences for what they do. 'Tis but lately that we have had a Declaration publiſhed, forbidding any to take upon them the Office of Guardians to Children, whoſe Parents have died in the Proteſtant Religion, excepting ſuch as are *Roman Catholicks*: and tho that part of the Edict that concedes this Privilege to the Reformed, is couched in the moſt clear and expreſs terms that could be conceived; yet the Declaration takes no manner of notice of the ſaid Article: nay, and the Expreſſions wherein it has been conceived, are ſuch as would beſpeak,

that

that ſuch an Uſage has been without Foundation. But indeed, this is a Method that the *French* Council has for ſome time uſed, when they have been mindful to put out any Order in prejudice to any of the Privileges granted in the Edict that are expreſt ſo clearly, as that no Cavils raiſed by them, can render them dark and abſurd. And, as they found it too difficult a Task to find Reaſons forcible enough to elude ſuch formal Conceſſions, they made a ſhew of being ignorant of them, and they were willing to put forth ſuch Orders that might only ſeem to regulate ſuch new and extraordinary Caſes. But yet that they might have ſome colourable Pretences for what they did herein, they charged the *Guardians* of the *Reformed Religion* with two Crimes: Firſt, that they abuſed that Power which they had in that Quality over thoſe in pupillage to them, and hindred their becoming *Catholicks*: Then that they imbezelled the Eſtates of ſuch Minors, when they became Converts againſt their Will; which was a great Obſtacle to their Preferment, when they came of age. Theſe two things were ſpoken of, as if there had been nothing in the World more certain and true, and of which they had had abundant Experience; but they are of the number of ſuch Inſtances, that are as eaſy to be rais'd, as impoſſible by any Proofs to be maintain'd. And any one's Reaſon, my Lord, will give him, eſpecially as to the laſt Article, that it muſt be notoriouſly falſe; for can any one believe that ſuch *Guardians*, who would adventure in a malicious way to imbezle the Eſtate of their Pupils, could go unpuniſhed, in a Country where their Religion and Power was ſo much in the Wain? And ſurely he muſt be next to a Madman that would thus adventure to play with the Zeal of the Parliaments of this Kingdom, animated by the Recommendation of the Clergy, who are forward enough to make their Court unto them.

And if, my Lord, the *Proteſtant Guardians* are thus injuriouſly uſed, the *Phyſicians* of the ſame Perſuaſion have fared much worſe, as being deprived by another De-

Declaration, of their Means of living, upon the moſt ridiculous Pretences in the World; they alledging that ſince thoſe of the *Reformed Religion* were already deprived of all Judicial Affairs, and the Freedom to exerciſe the Functions of Counſellors at Law, it were to be feared the greateſt part of their young Men might fall to the Study of *Phyſick*; that that would conſiderably augment the number of *Proteſtant Phyſicians*, and that thoſe of the *Roman Catholicks* muſt by that means as much decreaſe; and that hereafter that would become very prejudicial to the Salvation of ſick Catholicks, in that the *Reformed* would take no care to put their Patients in mind of receiving the Sacraments of the Church, when they found them reduced to ſuch a condition as did require them. I know not, my Lord, but that there may be a Snake in the Graſs here, and that the crafty *Jeſuits* amuſe the World with ſuch Illuſions, and would buoy People up in a belief, that ſince they have ſuch great Precautions for Futurity, it's the leaſt of their thoughts, to come to an entire Abolition of the Priviledges of the *Reformed*, and put Conſtraints upon their Conſciences in Religious matters: I wiſh it may prove ſo, the Event will diſcover it.

When this Hardſhip was put upon the *Phyſicians*, the *Chirurgeons* and *Apothecaries* every where began to look about them, and were terribly afraid their turns would be next: They had juſt reaſon for it, my Lord, for not many days were elapſed ſince the Publication of the former, but comes out an Order of Council, prohibiting all *Chirurgeons* and *Apothecaries* who made Profeſſion of the *Reformed Religion*, to exerciſe their Art, either by themſelves, or by the Interpoſure of other Perſons, directly or indirectly; nor to conſign their Priviledges to another; or by any other way and means whatſoever: inſinuating, that the Exerciſe of ſuch Trades gave them eaſy Admiſſion into Mens Houſes, and by that means hindred the Converſion of other Religionaries. And thus, My Lord, the Art of *Phyſick*, and thoſe others dependant thereon, are looked upon as the laſt Reſources of the *Reformed Religion* here; and this has

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administred occasion to some Persons to shew their Wit, and to divert themselves with such frigid Pleasantries; saying, 'That the *Reformed Religion* was at the point 'of Death; that the *Surgeons* and *Apothecaries* could 'do no more for her; and that there was no doubt 'to be made, but she should in time be abandoned 'by the *Physicians* also.' Your Lordship having expresst no Dissatisfaction with my keeping up my Correspondence with you in things of this kind, for want of more agreeable Matter for your Information, has emboldened me to accost you again in this manner, and gives me farther Incouragement to be assiduous to get the most certain Intelligence I can, as well as a fresh Opportunity to profess how much I am desirous,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 20. 1685.

To Serve You.

LETTER LXXXV.

Of Jealousies raised in the Reformed *in* France, *that there was a Design formed to massacre them.*

My Lord,

THINGS are now carry'd on in this Kingdom with so high a hand against the *Reformed Churches*, as to threaten an intire Destruction of them in a very short time. It has been a Matter debated and hesitated upon for a long time, whether they should send their *Dragoons* amongst them, and make use of that Expedient, since their Lyes and *Popish* Arguments failed to reduce them to re-unite with the *Romish Church*. They were not without their Fears, lest when they should

ſhould ſend armed Men in that manner, and to that end, to thoſe parts of the Country wherein the *Proteſtants* were in greateſt numbers, and to many rich and populous Cities, where almoſt all the Inhabitants are of that Perſuaſion, they might meet with ſome unexpected Reſiſtance; which might conſtrain them to abandon their Enterprize, or come to a down-right Maſſacre. There is indeed a Rumour whiſper'd up and down, that there have been ſecret Applications made to the King, that conſidering the Reſiſtance which the *Reformed* might make to his Orders, and the little Succeſs which his Deſigns had already, and were like to meet with, in preventing their Retreat out of the Kingdom; it were a much ſurer, more expeditious and better way for him to be rid of them by a Maſſacre: Nay, my Lord, it's confidently ſaid, and I have ſome moral Aſſurance of it, that the Orders were given, and the Letters drawn already, when a Prince of the Blood coming to hear of ſuch barbarous Reſolutions, had the Courage to remonſtrate to the King the Evil, as well as the Diſhonour of it, and Goodneſs enough not to leave importuning of him, till the Orders were revoked, and the Letters ſuppreſt. I cannot be ſo poſitive as I would in giving his Name to your Lordſhip; ſome ſaying it was the renowned Prince of *Conde*, but others attribute it to his Nephew the Prince of *Conti*, both of them Perſons of great Honour always, and as likely either of them to concern themſelves in that behalf, as any in the Kingdom. But whatever ſtop may have been put to the Jeſuitical Fury hereby; I think they have begun to diſcharge it by their *Dragoons*, almoſt in as barbarous a manner, who have been already guilty of a thouſand Violences; and the Almighty alone knows where it will terminate. I beg your Lordſhip's pardon, if I am any ways troubleſome by ſuch Relations; and beg leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt
Obedient Servant.

Paris, Sept. 24.
1685. N.S.

LET-

LETTER LXXXVI.

Of the Violences offered to, and the Stratagems uſed againſt the Reformed *at* Bearn.

My Lord,

THE *Proteſtant Churches* in the Province of *Bearn*, had been ſeveral Years ago, under ſome ſham Pretences or other, reduced to the number of five; and the Parliament from time to time, have endeavoured to render them of no uſe, by the Impriſonment and Silencing of their Miniſters: but now there has been ſuch a Prank plaid for converting ſome of the Inhabitants to the *Popiſh Church*, as I think hardly has ever been practiſed by any other People in the known World. For the Intendant of the Province having made uſe of a notorious Fellow to carry on the Work, he deludes ſome of the People to go with him to a Tavern, and there by his Artifice found the way to make them drunk. Next day, when they were come to themſelves, he goes and tells them, That they had promiſed him they would go to Maſs, and that if they pretended to deny it, they would be ſure to be treated as Apoſtates; that they had beſides ſpoken ill of the Government, and the Miniſters of Religion; and that the only way for them to eſcape a ſevere Puniſhment, which they had made themſelves liable to, was to conform to the Church of *Rome*. There were about fifty of them that were catched with this ſimple Wile; whereof the Intendant vaunted ſo much, that he has writ to Court, that there is ſo general an Inclination in the whole Province to become *Catholicks*, that the King has no more than to teſtify his Deſire they ſhould do ſo, for him to ſee the whole Coun-

try embrace the *Roman Communion*. And ſo having obtained ſuch farther Orders as he deſired, he has cauſed an Aſſembly of new Converts to meet together at *Muſlac*, and hath order'd the Civil Magiſtrates of the neighbouring Places to call the *Reformed* of their reſpective Pariſhes to come thither, under pretence of hearing a Sermon, which the Biſhop of *Leſcar* was to preach there. Now the Biſhop, my Lord, as is well known, is fitter for a Play-houſe than a Pulpit; and a Sermon of his Preaching was looked upon by all a thing ſo rare, as to excite the Curioſity of the moſt ſtupid in the World to go and hear him: wherefore abundance of Perſons from all parts preſented themſelves at the Place appointed; but when they came there, they could hear no other Sermon than the Declaration of the Intendant, to acquaint them, That it was the King's Pleaſure they ſhould all turn *Roman Catholicks*: thoſe who refuſed to comply to this unexpected Command, were cudgelled into the Church, had the Doors made faſt upon them, and with the ſame Violence were forced to keep ſilence, fall down upon their knees, and to receive from the good Biſhop an Abſolution of their Hereſy; and thereupon were told, that if they offer'd for the future to go and hear their own Miniſter, they ſhould be infallibly puniſhed for Apoſtates. Such and a thouſand the like Violences they practiſed of late in that Province; as I have a faithful Account thereof, too tedious to trouble your Lordſhip withal. But becauſe your Lordſhip may perhaps have heard a mighty noiſe of a Deſign to beſiege *Fontarabia* by the *French*; I ſhall in a very few words unfold that Myſtery to you.

The Intendant, my Lord, having found that thoſe, and the like ſham Tricks above-mentioned, did not anſwer his end, but that the generality of the People ſtill ſtuck tight to their Principles; found there was a neceſſity to bring in armed Men to conſtrain them to a Compliance. It was given out here, that this Court was highly diſſatisfy'd at that of *Spain*; that they durſt not appear ſenſible of the Outrages done them on *Flanders*

ſide;

ſide; and ſo for Satisfaction, talk loud of nothing elſe but beſieging *Fontarabia:* ſaying at the ſame time, That *France* would do nothing but what was juſt, and therefore they were not willing to begin a War on that ſide where the Barrier might be broken (which was made by the late Peace) between their Conqueſts, and the United Provinces; and in carrying their Arms towards the other ſide, could give them no manner of Umbrage. In conformity to this ſeeming Deſign, the Troops defiled towards *Bearn*, but inſtead of advancing to inveſt *Fontarabia*, they have halted there ever ſince, and committed all the Inſolencies that the moſt barbarous of Nations could e'er be guilty of. But ſince I have entred upon the Relation of the Miſery of this famous Province, I ſhall endeavour a little further to treſpaſs upon your Lordſhip's Patience, and ſhew what Pretences the Clergy have raiſed to juſtify the rigorous Proſecution of the *Bearnois*, before others in the Kingdom. They have had the Artifice to aboliſh the Remembrance of the Conſpiracy which their Predeceſſors had formed in this Principality againſt their lawful Sovereigns; and have had the Audaciouſneſs to perſuade the King, that the *Reformed Religion* was never eſtabliſhed in that Province, but by the Authority of Queen *Jane*, who would have her own Religion to be uppermoſt: and that as ſhe had then baniſhed the *Catholick Religion* out of her Dominions by Arms, in favour of that Doctrine whereon ſhe her ſelf doted; the King, who was the eldeſt Son of the Church, might very juſtly do the ſame thing for the exterminating of that Change in Religion there, which had been introduced by Violence. And thus you ſee, my Lord, the Popiſh Clergy here leave nothing uneſſay'd for the Advancement of their Deſigns, (I am afraid they are of the ſame kidney every where elſe) and they have got the knack (when there is occaſion) of making that a Crime in their Enemies, which is but the juſt Puniſhment of their own: for by diſguiſing the Truth of Hiſtory, as they have done herein, they have made that to paſs in Queen *Jane* for an Uſur-

pation over the Liberties of her Subjects, and the Freedom of their Consciences, which was but a lawful Revenge she had taken on the perfidious Clergy of her Dominion, who had formed against her, and the Princes her Children, such a Conspiracy as can hardly be parallel'd, before the Introduction of the *Ignatian* Order into the World. However, right or wrong, they have gained their Point, and under this false Relation of so memorable an Event, they have made it to pass for a constant Truth, That under a Queen of the *Reformed Religion*, that Religion which she authoriz'd, was introduced by force in *Bearn*; and that consequently there would be no room left to complain, that a Popish King in his turn made use of Force to repress it. This was the Ground pretended for beginning to put *Bearn* under military Execution; as if from what was formerly done for the just Punishment of a Rebellious People, there were a just Consequence to be drawn for an unjust Oppression of the most submissive and obedient Subjects. But having already trespassed by an over-tedious Letter, I shall not farther aggravate it; but remain,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 27.
1685. N.S.

Your Lordship's

most Humble and

Obedient Servant.

LET-

LETTER LXXXVII.

Of the Rejoicings in Bearn *upon the imaginary Succeſs they had in Converſions.*

My Lord,

IN my laſt to your Lordſhip, I remember I was ſomewhat tedious in my Narration of the Sufferings of the poor *Proteſtants* in the Principality of *Bearn*. It were endleſs for me to recite the farther Particulars that have come to my knowledge ſince; and therefore I ſhall wave it, and acquaint your Lordſhip, for want of a better Subject, how much the Clergy have triumphed in the Succeſs they have imagined, thoſe Violences they have been guilty of towards thoſe People, had to bring them over to their Communion. They have not failed to teſtify as much Joy at it, as if there had been ſome Battle got, or ſome City taken from the Enemy: But what was very cruel and terrible, was, That the poor *Reformed* were forced to take part in theſe Rejoicings, of which their own Ruin was the Subject. It would be too tedious to recount to your Lordſhip, the many Cruelties exerciſed in this Country, and particularly at *Pau*, as a *Preludium* to this Force. But after the Reduction of the aforeſaid Place, they made a general Proceſſion, whereunto they dragged the new Converts, and withal celebrated high Maſs, whereat the Parliament aſſiſted in a Body: And when that was over, *Te Deum* was ſung, the Guns fired, and the Citizens who were commanded to ſtand to their Arms, made ſeveral Diſcharges and Vollies of Shot; then followed Illuminations and Bonfires, and Fireworks were prepared at the Charge of the Publick for the ſame occaſion. But how much ſoever this was a Mock-ſhew, yet great care has

been taken to tranſmit ſuch Relations to the Court, of all the Particulars relating to their Proceedings and Succeſs, as are dreſt with all the Art imaginable, with a Deſign to perſuade them, who are but too ready to believe it, that all the People every where have re-united themſelves to the Church, with all the Freedom and good Will imaginable. And becauſe they were reſolved to make ſure work of it, they have accompany'd the ſame Relations with Certificates, which they cauſed to be ſigned by the ſame means as they have procured their Converſions, as they are pleaſed to call them; and wherein thoſe who had ſuffered a thouſand Outrages and Violences, that cannot be named without Deteſtation and Horrour, were conſtrained to declare that the King's Soldiers, who of themſelves are well known to be as profligate Wretches as any in the World, had lived and demeaned themſelves among them with all modeſty, and had kept ſtrictly within the Bounds of their Orders; which yet, my Lord, is a baſe Equivocation: for who knows what their Orders were? But what is more pleaſant than the reſt is, that beſides the forementioned Narrations and Certificates, they have tranſmitted hither alſo a Speech made to the Intendant by Monſieur *de V*—, a Member of the Parliament of *Pau*, who was one of the chief Inſtruments to induce the Church of that City to come to a Compliance; and who taking upon him to ſpeak in the Name of the reſt, came to give him Aſſurances of their entire Submiſſion. But I hear, my Lord, he is like to have but little thanks for his pains; for the Council here are no ways pleaſed, that he ſhould attribute the Converſion of that ſame Church to the King's Puiſſance, and thereby make too clear a Diſcovery of what they have no mind ſhould be known by any means, *viz.* That any of the Soldiery have been imploy'd in this Expedition. Theſe were his Words, which I take to be genuine; *That there was need of the ſame Force that had ſubjugated both Seas, and alſo made the* Spaniards *humble, to cauſe the* Reformed *to re-unite to the Church.* Which Words being not to be explicated any other way than

than by Force of Arms; and concerning which the *Spaniards* willingly acknowledge, That the Power was much more formidable than the Juſtice of them: the Council have ſtomached it, and the more it ſeems, becauſe the ſame Lawyer has fooliſhly and impertinently attributed the beſt part of that Conqueſt to the Intendant: which Procedure did not concur, and fall in right with the Court-Maxims, who are wont to attribute to the King alone all the Glory that redounds from all Events. I ſhall not tranſgreſs, my Lord, by any further Enlargement upon this Subject, hoping for your kind Interpretation of what I have here troubled your Honour with, and that you would be pleaſed to retain a favourable Opinion of my Sincerity in all the Parts of my Correſpondence, and give me leave ſtill to ſubſcribe my ſelf, as I really am, and ever ſhall be,

Paris, Sept. 30. 1685. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
to Command.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Of the Violences offered to the Barons of Mompeton, de Mauzac, de Vichaſe, *and* de la Mothe.

My Lord,

HAVING not yet any better Entertainment for your Lordſhip, than by purſuing the ſame Subject I have of late dwelt upon in the Courſe of my Correſpondence; I ſhall once more adventure upon a ſhort Relation of what has lately come within the Verge of my Intelligence, concerning the barbarous Uſe of the Barons of *Mompeton*, *de Mauzac*, *de Vichaſe*, and *de la*

Mothe: and the rather, ſince, if I am not much miſtaken, I have heard your Lordſhip formerly mention ſome of their Names, and particularly *de Mompeton*, as being of your Acquaintance when you travelled in this Kingdom. Theſe Gentlemen were Members of the Church of *Montauban*, where lately the Dragoons are come; but it ſeems, before they began to exerciſe their Fury upon the poor People, it was contriv'd, by the Prime Commanders, how they might entrap the foremention'd honourable Perſons, as being of great Authority among the reſt of the People, and capable to draw others to follow their Example; but yet obſerv'd to be of as known Integrity, and of whom they were in deſpair to compaſs their Ends, unleſs by Surprize: wherefore they had notice given them ſecretly, that in order to prevent the pillaging of their Houſes, they ought to go and pay their reſpects to the Marquiſs *de Boufflers*, who being a Perſon of Honour himſelf, would not fail to uſe them as ſuch; whereupon the Baron of *Mauzac*, having preſented himſelf firſt at the Houſe where the Marquiſs had taken up his Lodgings, he was made to wait in the Anti-Chamber, till ſuch time as the Intendant and Biſhop (who had notice of the Deſign) were come thither. When they came, they went into the Marquiſs's Chamber, by another Door, and concerted Methods with him, how they might get the Baron to become a *Roman Catholick*. After they had pitch'd upon the Meaſures they were to go upon, the Baron was order'd to come in, and after long Diſcourſe uſed to him, to induce him to become a voluntary Convert, the Biſhop began to ſpeak, and ſaid, 'There was no need of ſo much ado with that Gentleman; that there was no more to be done, than to 'bring him down upon his Knees, and he would to 'rights give him Abſolution of his Hereſy.' Whereupon a parcel of Ruffians there at hand ſeiz'd upon the Baron, foil'd him, and brought him down upon his Knees. This inſolent and bold Carriage, the Fear of the Danger, the Conſternation it brought him under, together with the Fall, ſo far prevail'd upon his Spirits,

that

that he ſwooned away; ſo as that thoſe Miſcreants, who brought him into that dangerous Condition, had much ado to recover him, and bring him to himſelf again. There happen'd, it ſeems, to be a Knight of *Malta* in the place, who, being a Man of great Honour, and finding that this way of converting the World was a very odd and new way, and little agreeable to *Chriſtianity*, he would have taken him away out of their hands; but ſo intent were theſe vile Sparks on their Enterprize, that they would by no means give way to the Interceſſion of the Knight, unleſs he would charge himſelf with being reſponſible for the Baron's Converſion. But whatever the Gentleman did for the keeping of his Word with them, towards bringing of the Baron to a Compliance, I am credibly inform'd he could not prevail; but that the Soldiers were thoſe who got their Ends on him: and that was done by a terrible Method, *viz.* by forcing him to keep continually awake, without any intermediate Reſt; by which they brought him to dote, and be beſide himſelf, when they extorted his ſigning. This bad Succeſs did not diſcourage the Convertors, as they were call'd; for the Baron *de Vichaſe* entring a little after to pay the ſame Reſpects to the Marquiſs, they would have uſed the ſame Violence to him; but though they got him down, yet he bravely got up again upon his Legs, and clap'd his Back againſt a Wall, and his Hand to his Sword; and that with ſuch a Reſolution to defend himſelf, in caſe he was aſſaulted, that they choſe rather to give him over, and puſh the matter no further. The Baron *de Mompeton* was the laſt that came, who, though of ſuch advanc'd Age, as being near ſeventy four Years old, and of ſuch a Quality, as being Lord of a very conſiderable Borough in the Dioceſs of *Montauban*; yet had no more reſpect or pity ſhew'd him than the reſt: for they ſet upon him in the ſame manner as they had done the reſt, but happening fortunately to be booted and ſpurred, his Spurs hindred them from throwing him down, and his firm and ſtout Expreſſions ſtopped the Biſhop's Mouth, and he eſcaped; though he was taken afterward in his

Flight out of the Kingdom, and condemn'd, according to the rigorous Proceedings of this Court, to the Galleys: and though his Age and Quality, beſides the great Sollicitations made at Court in favour of him, might render the matter very eaſy to be obtain'd; yet it was with much difficulty that he was got to be exempted from that odious Condemnation: and this was given out as an extraordinary Mark of the King's Clemency. The Baron *de la Mothe* avoided the Smart, by not appearing at the place for that time, but he was puniſh'd ſoon after, by having his two fine Houſes deſtroy'd; and lately, through a tedious Miſery of a Priſon, they extorted a Compliance from him. I hope this will find your Lordſhip in Health, and free from ſuch—— in this tickliſh time; which ſhall be the daily Wiſhes of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble and
moſt Devoted Servant.

Paris, Nov. 13.
1686. N. S.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Of the Revocation of the Edict of Nants; *how Monſieur* le Tellier *the Chancellor haſten'd it, and his own Death.*

My Lord,

THE Parliament is not yet open'd here; when there was no doubt made of it, but that it was fully deſign'd the Edict of *Nants* would have been revoked: but moſt People were aſtoniſh'd to ſee the Revocation come out before the ſaid time, and great Inquiry made into the Secret of this unexpected Procedure; for though the Violences I have, in ſome of my former Letters to

your

your Lordſhip, given an account of, were really ſuch, if not worſe than repreſented, yet they were chriſten'd with the Name of making Converts by fair means; and the Court would make the World believe it to be ſo at all points. And to elude the poor Reformed with the vain Hopes that they ſhould yet enjoy the Benefit of the Edict a long time, they had an Order put forth the 15th of *September* in favour of them, in reſpect of Marriages, which they had for a long time before ſollicited for in vain. But it ſeems the Chancellor has been the means to haſten it, as I am credibly inform'd; for finding himſelf burden'd with Years and Infirmities, and fearing leſt he might be overtaken with Death before the fatal Blow was given, he did at laſt, by freſh and repeated Inſtances (alledging he could not live to the time the Edict was deſign'd to be nullify'd, and that he was not willing to die before he had put the Seal to the Revocation of it) obtain his Ends. But, my Lord, it is very obſervable, that he had no ſooner done it, by putting to the Seal, but that he neither would nor could ſeal any other Order whatſoever, but died here three days ago very uneaſy; though he blaſphemouſly ſaid (when he had done it) the Words of old *Simeon*, *That after he had ſeen the Salvation of the Lord, he would go to his Grave in peace.* I do not queſtion but your Lordſhip had heard before of the Revocation of the Edict; but the Death of the Chancellor, and Circumſtance of it, I ſuppoſe you have not, and that is the Occaſion of my troubling you with this Letter; which I ſhall conclude, with ſubſcribing my ſelf,

Paris, Nov. 2. 1685. N. S.

My Lord,

Your very Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER XC.

Containing some Observations upon the French *King's Edict in* October 1685. *for the Revocation of the Edict of* Nants, *made in favour of the Reformed in the Reign of* Henry *the Fourth.*

My Lord,

I Have very lately given your Lordship an account of the Death of Monsieur *le Tellier*, soon after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*; I am apt to believe your Lordship has not seen the said Revocation, and therefore, to keep my hand in ure, and for want of better Matter to gratify your Honour's Expectation, I shall descant a little upon the Particulars of it. After the Prefatory Part of it, it is asserted as a constant Truth, That the Edict of *Nants* was not given, but with a prospect to revoke it; That not only the King himself, since his Accession to the Throne, but even his Father and Grandfather *Henry* IV. had a Design to bring the Reformed back to the Communion of the *Roman Catholick Church*; and that Civil and Foreign Wars have been the only Cause that had retarded the Execution of that Design: That before the Conclusion of the Truce in 1684, Affairs were not brought to a fit Disposition to bring it about; and that till now they had been content to suppress the Places of their Worship, and to abolish some of their Privileges; and that in order to make way for the accomplishing of this great Work, the King was the more easily brought to conclude the said Truce. This being prefaced, the rest contains twelve Articles, importing in general, That all Edicts made in favour of the

Reformed

Reformed are null; That the Reformed Religion shall be no more exercised in the Kingdom; That all the Ministers shall be banish'd, yet with Promises, that if they became Converts in a limited time, *viz.* in fifteen Days, they and their Widows after them should be provided for, *&c.* That no Reformed Schools shall be kept in the Kingdom; That all Children, for the future, shall be brought up in the *Roman Catholick* Religion; That those might return into the Kingdom in four Months, who were out of it, else to have their Goods confiscated; That none, for the future, shall dare to go out of the Kingdom, under Penalty of the Galleys, *&c.* That such Declarations as have been made against those that relapsed, shall be in force: But, last of all, it grants the Reformed liberty to remain where they please in the Kingdom; to continue their Trade, enjoy their Goods without any Molestation or Trouble, under pretence of their Religion; upon condition notwithstanding that they shall not exercise the same, nor keep any Assemblies under pretence of Prayers, or any other Worship whatsoever. But how specious soever this Article may seem, it is already apparent, that 'tis but a mere Illusion, and that there is much Cruelty couch'd under it: It would insinuate to us, that the King had no design to forbid Domestick Worship, and to enforce Mens Consciences, since this Expression, *Till such time as God should be pleased to enlighten them*, has been added as one fine-spun Thred to the rest of the Net: but the *Court* and *Clergy* have made it already appear, that this was the least of their Thoughts, since they have actually caused the Troops to march towards the Provinces that have not yet been ravaged; though at the same time the chief Magistrate of this *City* has assembled the principal Merchants here together, to confirm here to them, by word of Mouth, what was contain'd in the Edict, and to assure them they had nothing to fear upon that account. And this has had a very pernicious Effect already, for it has sent many home into their Houses again, who had taken measures to be gone, with their Families, out of the Kingdom; for the most

distrustful

distruſtful Perſons could not perſuade themſelves, that ſo ſolemn a Promiſe could be made with an Intention to break it the next opportunity: but Experience has very quickly taught them, that the Imprudence to return was to no other effect, than to receive the Dragoons into their Houſes; and now, when 'tis too late, they come to know, that the Marquiſs *de Chateauneuf* had no other Deſign, than to lay a Snare for the Credulous, by a baſe equivocating Phraſe, and ſuch as the Jeſuits uſually have made uſe of in forming the Orders and Declarations concerning Religion, which have paſſed through their Hands: and that by adding to thoſe Words, *waiting till the Lord ſhall be pleaſed to enlighten them*, theſe ſame, *as others*; he meant no other, than that the Dragoons, who had enlightned the firſt Converts, ſhould alſo be the Diſpenſers of the ſame Light to thoſe who continued ſtill ſtiff and opinionative. But I ſhall, in my next, give your Lordſhip further Information of this baſe and double-dealing, ſo much to the diſhonour of this *Court*, and the Miniſters of it, from whom, as in the Litany,—— I commend your Lordſhip to the Divine Protection, and ſhall ever while I live do ſo, and remain,

Paris, Dec. 10. 1685. N. S.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER XCI.

Of the Marquiſs of Louvois's *Letter, authorizing the ſevere Proſecution of the Reformed; as alſo an Order by him ſigned to the ſame purpoſe.*

My Lord,

I Have made a kind of a Promiſe to your Lordſhip, when I writ laſt, to give you ſome further Explication of the Double-dealing of this Court upon the Subject-matter of the Edict of the Revocation, and particularly that Article that ſeem'd to contain ſo much in favour of the Reformed; and ſuch, my Lord, it was, that the very *Romaniſts* themſelves thought fit to ſuſpend the Courſe of their violent Proceedings againſt them upon it: and therefore Monſieur the Duke *de Noailles*, who had receiv'd Orders for the Province of *Languedoc*, which that Clauſe formerly mention'd ſeem'd to revoke, had, upon the peruſing it, recourſe to the *Delphian* Oracle of this Country, for the Solution of ſo great a Difficulty; upon which the Marquiſs *de Louvois*, the *Gallican Apollo*, ſoon diſabuſed him, and returned to his Queſtion this deciſive Article: 'I doubt not but the quartering of a few 'Troopers more than ordinary upon thoſe few of the 'Gentry and Commoners, that ſtill remain of the Re-'formed Religion, will quickly undeceive them, and con-'vince them of the Miſtake they have been in concern-'ing the Edict, which Monſieur *de Chateauneuf* hath 'drawn up: And his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That you 'would make an Explication of the ſame very ſeverely 'againſt all thoſe, who will be the laſt to make a Profeſ-'ſion of a Religion that does not pleaſe him, and the

'Exerciſe

'Exerciſe whereof he hath thought fit to prohibit thro 'all his Dominions.' But, my Lord, this is not the only Letter nor Order to this purpoſe; for I have had the advantage to ſee ſome others to the Officers of the Army and Intendants, importing, That for the further convincing of the Incredulous, it was declar'd thoſe Violences were order'd by the Council; and in ſhort the Marquiſs *de Louvois* was the principal Author of theſe cruel Expedients. But, above all the reſt, I have privately ſeen an Order ſign'd by him, wherein it is expreſs'd, That the Copy thereof ſhould be ſent to the Marquiſs *de Verac*, and which ended with theſe remarkable Words: 'It is his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, that 'you make uſe of the utmoſt Rigour and Severity againſt 'all thoſe who are not willing to become of his Reli-'gion; and thoſe who will have the Vainglory to con-'tinue to the laſt of the Number, muſt be uſed and 'preſſed upon to the utmoſt Extremity.' I'll leave it to your Lordſhip's Wiſdom and known Sagacity to ruminate upon, and judge of this Legerdemain Procedure, and crave leave to acknowledge (though it be never out of my Mind) the many Favours you have been pleaſed to ſhew upon all occaſions to,

Paris, Dec. 14. 1685. N. S.

My Lord,

Your Honour's Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER XCII.

Of an Order prohibiting the Reformed to frequent the Chappels or Houſes of the Ambaſſadors of Foreign Princes.

My Lord,

OUR Court here, it ſeems, have thought it a little too low to deſcend to forbid the Reformed to frequent the Proteſtant Chappels of Foreign Miniſters, and therefore they have conſign'd that piece of Drudgery unto the Civil Magiſtrate of this City, who has done it in ſuch Terms as are as like to another Equivocation I have already mention'd to your Lordſhip, that it cannot otherwiſe be than a Pig of the ſame Sow: for the Order does not mention, 'That thoſe who were ſtill of the 'Reformed Religion ſhould not be preſent at any Di-'vine Worſhip in the Houſes of Ambaſſadors, and of 'other Miniſters of Foreign Potentates:' but it has a Term of Expreſſion that is very ſingular and pretty, calling them *thoſe who ſay, they are ſtill of the Reformed Religion*; as if it were now ſomewhat ſtrange or criminal, after what hath been mention'd in the latter Clauſe of the Edict of Revocation, whereof I have ſome time ſince taken particular notice to your Lordſhip, to continue ſtill of that Religion, to which it hath promiſed ſo little Support, or uſe the Freedom to ſay it. But hereby it is plain, they are intent to cut off the only Reſource and Conſolation they had left them under their hard Fortune, by enjoining them not to frequent thoſe Religious Exercifes practiſed in privileged and exempted Houſes. And while the *Roman Catholicks* in all *Proteſtant Countries* have the liberty publickly to be preſent at their own way of Religious Worſhip, which is celebrated in the

the Houſes of all *Popiſh* Ambaſſadors, the unhappy Remnant of the *French Proteſtants* are hereby utterly depriv'd of the little Conveniency which they had, both ſeldom and ſecretly, of preſenting themſelves at the Houſes of *Proteſtant* Ambaſſadors, there to pay their Devotions with ſome Marks of Union. One ſhould think, my Lord, the *Foreign Potentates* ſhould reſent this; but alas! that Intereſt ſeems to be quite in the Wain, ſince our Native Country has left holding the Scales, which I cannot leſs than deplore, though it is out of my power to redreſs: But who knows what your Lordſhip——— I am,

My Lord,

Paris, Dec. 16. 1685. N.S. *Yours in ſincereſt Affection and Senſe of Duty.*

LETTER XCIII.

The Reformed in France *are prohibited to entertain any other Servants than old* Catholicks, *&c.*

My Lord,

THIS Kingdom ſwarms ſtill, as it has done for ſome Months backwards, with more Edicts and Declarations; and that chiefly about the poor diſtreſſed *Reformed*, whom they think they can never depreſs low enough. It was in *July* laſt that they were forbidden to take any Domeſticks into their Service that were of the *Roman* Communion; and now they are order'd to take none but old *Romaniſts* to be their Domeſtick Servants; and the ſame Injunctions reach alſo the new Converts. It is a ſad and melancholy Subject, I do confeſs; but were it of leſs Importance, one could not forbear laugh-

ing,

ing, to consider that what was pitched upon as highly useful and necessary, in the Month of *July*, for to obstruct the Perversion of *Catholicks*, could some five Months after retard the Conversion of such as might have been of the *Reformed Way* in the Service of Persons of the same Religion: as if in the Month of *July*, when almost half the Kingdom was over-run with Dragoons, and who did every where commit the terriblest Ravages imaginable, any one in his Wits could imagine that those of the *Reformed Religion* should think upon the perverting of any of the *Roman Catholicks* to their Way; or that in the Month of *December* the handful of the *Reformed*, who are accused by the King's Declaration to persevere still in their erroneous Opinions, are in a condition to take into their Service all the rest of the *Reformed*, who are brought to a State of serving other People to gain them an honest Livelihood, and by this way to hinder the efficacious Means, which the King declares he doth make use of for the reducing this poor People to Obedience. It is impossible, my Lord, to decipher to you the daily Hardships put upon these forlorn People, whose Miseries daily have an Appearance of further Aggravation and Increase; which, I know, must aggravate your Sorrow, and I shall therefore forbear any further Enlargements hereupon, and content my self to profess how ready I am to give your Lordship all the Satisfaction that lies in my power, and to continue,

My Lord,

Your Honour's

most Humble Servant.

Paris, Jan. 16.
1686. N. S.

LET-

LETTER XCIV.

Of Alien Proteſtants, *their Uſage in* France; *and the Severities ſhewed to the* Dutch *Conſul at* Nants, *and others.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip may have been deſirous to know all this while, that ſince the *French* have been ſo cruel to their own Fellow-ſubjects and Natives, how Strangers fare amongſt them; and therefore I ſhall give your Honour my Thoughts upon this matter, as far as any Particulars have come to my Knowledg. It's not long ſince that we have ſeen an Order here, giving leave to all *Proteſtant* Strangers to have free egreſs and regreſs into the Kingdom, with their Wives, Children, Servants, and others of their Nation, at will, and with the ſame Freedom and Liberty which they enjoyed in times paſt; but they are ſtrictly charged to carry none of the King's Subjects out with them, without expreſs leave under the Secretary of State's hands, nor to exerciſe their own Religion, *whatever Religion they be of:* which laſt Words were ſlidden in craftily by the Jeſuits, after that of *Proteſtants*, to the end they might enhance the Diviſions amongſt them; from which the *Miſſionaries* drew their greateſt Arguments to entrap the Simple and Ignorant, and whereby they would tacitely inſinuate, That all the Sects which at this day diſhonour the Chriſtian Religion, and which agree in any one thing with *Proteſtantiſm*, are ſo many *Proteſtant* Sects: tho it's well known to the World, that all true *True Proteſtants* both ſhun and abhor their Communion. Such an Order was certainly, at this time, highly neceſſary: for, tho no Orders have been

have been issued out for to hinder those who would not become *Romanists* to enter the Kingdom; yet the Court was afraid their rigorous Proceedings against their own Natives would deter others, as thinking they could expect no better Treatment, nor more Safety in their Persons and Estates in *France*, than natural *Frenchmen*. But how little Benefit many Alien *Protestants* have received hereby, is notoriously known in every part of this Kingdom; and the *Dutch* Consul at *Nants* has sadly experienced the same: tho one should have thought his Quality was able to secure him against any Violences to be offered him in that kind. It has been usual, my Lord, for Foreigners, who have resided in this Kingdom, relying upon the Publick Faith, and flourishing by Commerce, to love to take care to preserve the Fruit of their Toil and Pains in a Country where the Right of Inheritance took place upon their taking Letters of Naturalization: wherefore many such are to be found here at this day, who never dreamt that they should be molested in their Religion, and thereby run the hazard of losing their Estates also, as thinking it to be a matter very conformable to the Rules of Justice and the Law of Nature and of Nations, that they should be reduced to their primitive States, as others, when the Kingdom thought fit to revoke the Edicts, under the Protection and Duration whereof they had made these Advances; and alledging, that they did not become *Frenchmen*, but conditionally, that they might enjoy the Freedom of their Consciences; seeing without that they would never have taken those Engagements: or if the Government thought not fit to observe them, the least it could do, was to remit them to their former Liberty, and to give them their Choice, either to enjoy the Privilege of their Letters, whereby they were naturaliz'd, by turning *Roman Catholicks*, or to lose that Advantage, and to be looked upon for the future as no other than Strangers, if they persever'd in their own Religion. But these Pleas, tho full of Reason and Equity, have little availed any of them, for they have been generally

treated

treated with the ſame Rigour and Severity as the reſt have been. And to this end there are and have been forty ſnivelling Pretences raiſed, to involve them in the ſame Miſery: if any of them have *French* Wives; if they have Children by them of ſuch an Age, born in this Kingdom; or if they have a Father or Mother-in-law living with them; this is enough to quarter the Dragoons upon them. In ſhort, my Lord, I cannot ſee how it can be ſafe for any *Proteſtant* to come and reſide in this Country, notwithſtanding what is contained in the forementioned Order: for tho this Court might be punctual in the Obſervance of it according to the Letter, yet ſeeing it doth poſitively forbid, that ſuch Strangers ſhould exerciſe their Religion here, it brings but a ſmall Remedy to the Evil they have apprehended might ariſe, by the Fear which may poſſeſs the Minds of Foreigners from reſiding and trafficking amongſt them, unleſs ſuch *Proteſtant* Aliens will be content (which cannot be generally thought of them) to live without any Worſhip at all; for they muſt expect, if they do otherwiſe, tho it be their private Devotions only in their Families, to be liable to the Rigours of the ſame Inquiſition with the *French Proteſtants* themſelves. I find they are reſolved here to carry all things with an high hand: I heartily wiſh it may be no Pattern to our——— I remain,

My Lord,

Paris, June 2. 1686. N.S.

Your moſt Humble and moſt Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER XCV.

Concerning the Ignorance of Popiſh *Convents.*

My Lord,

IT's ſcarce credible how ignorant the *Popiſh* Convents in this Country are of all good Literature, eſpecially the Women-kind, who have entertained ſuch monſtrous Notions concerning the Principles of the Reformed Churches, that unleſs I had had it from inconteſtable Teſtimonies, I ſhould not abuſe your Lordſhip, and hazard my Reputation with you ſo far, as to mention it to you. I know not whether I have formerly given your Honour to underſtand, that it has been a frequent Practice here to put young Maidens of the *Proteſtant* Faith into Religious Houſes, to be tutored there in the *Catholick Faith*, and where they have found the groſſeſt Ignorance both of their Principles and Practices, as ever would have entred into the Thoughts of rational Animals. They have looked upon and entertained them as if they were ſuch as had no Belief in *Jeſus Chriſt*; and not only ſo, but as ſuch as did not pray to God, but invoked *Calvin* or *Luther* only: by others they were looked upon as *Jews* that had not been circumciſed, or did not eat any Swine's Fleſh. With a thouſand ſuch *Chimera's* and Abſurdities have the crafty Prieſts filled the Noddles of thoſe ſimple Women, who think all they ſay an Oracle. But tho many diſtreſſed Perſons have been extreme Sufferers, and felt the Effects of theſe Prejudices in a moſt rigorous manner; yet we are not without Examples of others, who when by their Piety, Innocence, and Knowledg they had diſabus'd thoſe who have the charge of them, have been treated by them with much Tenderneſs and Humanity. I would not, my

my Lord, have continued a Correſpondence ſo little to your Honour's Information, had I not lain under your Commands for my ſo doing; and that you have always expreſs'd your Satisfaction with my Endeavours to ſerve you: who am,

My Lord,

Yours, in all humble
Obſervance.

Paris, July 7.
1686. N. S.

LETTER XCVI.

Of Mareſchal Schomberg, *and the Marquiſs* de Ruvigny's *Retreat out of* France; *and of the Favour ſhewed to the Marqueſs* du Queſne, *with the Reaſons thereof.*

My Lord,

I Do not queſtion but your Lordſhip had Acquaintance with Mareſchal *Schomberg*, when ſome years ago in *England*; you may, perhaps, ſee him there again in a ſhort time: For he hath with very great difficulty, notwithſtanding his many and ſignal Services for this Crown, obtained leave to depart the Kingdom, but under very hard Reſtrictions; the number of his Domeſticks being limited, and the Veſſel wherein he embarked view'd very narrowly. The Court before his Departure appointed him *Portugal* for his Retreat; that ſo that ſame Country, where he has been known for ſo many Victories, might become unto him rather a Place of Exile, than Retreat.

The Marquiſs *de Ruvigny* had always ſome meaſure of the King's Favour; but that, together with all the Intereſt he has had with his Miniſters of State, was little enough to procure him leave to retire with his

Family

Family into *England:* but whether arrived there, your Lordſhip can tell much better than I.

As for the Marquiſs *de Queſne*, tho fourſcore years old, and a Perſon that hath deſerved ſo much for his long and glorious Services, and under whoſe Conduct the Naval Power of this Kingdom, heretofore ſo inconſiderable, was become ſo formidable to all the World; yet he hath not been able to obtain leave to go finiſh his Days in a *Proteſtant* Country. But the Court have complimented him ſeemingly with a great Favour, *viz.* to continue in this City, with Aſſurance he ſhall not be moleſted upon the ſcore of his Religion. But no doubt this Favour hath proceeded more from Court-Policy than any good Will; for they are, it's very likely, afraid that had they granted him leave to depart the Kingdom, he might go and inform Strangers of the State of their Marine Affairs; the Weakneſs and Defects whereof he knows, as well as he can diſcover the Strength and Power of the ſame: And as for the Liberty of his Conſcience granted him, they found that alſo expedient, to hinder him to practiſe his Eſcape by one Artifice or other, if he were menaced with any Conſtraint. I did not think once matters would have been brought to this paſs here; but when they are at the worſt, there will be hopes they will mend, as I hope I ſhall in my Intelligence to your Lordſhip, who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 4. 1686. N. S.

Devoted to ſerve You.

N L E T-

LETTER XCVII.

Of Monsieur Claude's *Book, entituled,* A Protestation, in the Name of the Reformed, *winked at in* France; *and King* James's *being made their Drudg to burn it in* England.

My Lord,

TO think that your Lordship hath not seen and read Monsieur *Claude*'s *Protestation in the Name of the Reformed*, were to judg very disrespectfully and diminutively of your Curiosity, and therefore for me to descant upon it, cannot but be nauseous; but give me leave to observe to your Lordship the different Procedure of the two Courts at this time: tho it's not doubted here, and I hope in a short time to give you a further account of it, but that they are enter'd into very close Measures and Designs together, which will appear in due place. Nothing can be heard on this side, but the loud and dreadful Cry, of *Constrain them all to come in*; while our Emissaries, in conjunction with their Popish Levitical Brethren on your side, are a preaching up a general Indulgence to tender Consciences, and a Sovereign Duty to grant equal Toleration to all Opinions: and one would almost believe both are sincere. But, my Lord, the burning of the foresaid Book, which is an Abridgment of the History of the Persecution, by our King's Order, under pretence of its containing a Doctrine contrary to the Authority of Kings, is an ill Proof of the latter; and an half-sighted Man cannot but see, that maugre all the Inclination that seems to be in the Court, towards granting Indulgence to others, their

their Designs must have quite another Tendency: but I find this Court has got the Ascendency, for they have cunningly enough judged it more profitable to dissemble the Injury they conceive they have received by the foresaid Book, than to take a publick Revenge, for fear lest all the World should come to read a Piece that was so dangerous to them, and obnoxious to their Interest; and when they well knew they had form'd a Tool to do that to their hands, with less Envy to themselves and more to ::::: whenever they required it. I heartily beg your Lordship's pardon for my Freedom with you; who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Nov. 6.
1686. N.S.

Your very humble Servant.

LETTER XCVIII.

Of the League made between King James II. *and the* French *King*, Lewis XIV.

My Lord,

I Have once hinted to your Lordship, That both Courts were enter'd into very close Measures and Designs to establish themselves, to the prejudice of their Neighbours. As I should have been, and am very sorry to have disappointed your Expectations, after such Intimations given you; I do now as much rejoice that I have, tho I may say surreptitiously, got the Heads of the League lately made between them: for it is here with our Minutes as with other things, when they are fresh, they are more choice and fond of them. And it was agreed in general, That our King should join with the *French* King in a War against *Holland*, both by Sea

and Land: but in order to carry the ſame effectually on, it was more particularly concerted,

I. That they ſhall both endeavour to draw the Prince of *Orange* to connive at ſuch a War, and to conſent to the Abolition of the Penal Laws and Teſt againſt the *Roman Catholicks*, with ſpecious Promiſes of making him Prince of *Holland*, ſecuring his Succeſſion in *England*, and of many other great Proffers and Advantages: But in caſe he proves ſtiff, to endeavour to make a total Conqueſt of that Country, and ſhare it between themſelves, as was projected in the laſt *Dutch* War; and whereof, to the beſt of my Remembrance, I have given your Lordſhip a particular Relation: and then to find out ſome effectual Expedients to put the Prince of *Orange* by too of his Succeſſion in *England*.

II. That upon ſuppoſal that the Prince ſhall refuſe to comply with them in their projected Deſigns, then the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Forces ſhall be recalled out of the *Dutch* Service, and be ſent immediately into that of *France*, to be employ'd for a time in remoter Campaigns, towards *Spain* or *Italy*; and for want of ſuch Service in Gariſons, for fear they ſhall turn tail and revolt, and ſo the Prince and the States of *Holland* be beforehand weakned, and the *French* conſiderably ſtrengthned.

III. That ſome thouſands of the *French* choice Men, as of the King's Gentlemen Muſqueteers, and others, ſhall inſenſibly be brought into *England*, if the King finds his Occaſions to require it, to be mixt with the *Engliſh* Troops, under pretence of learning the other a more perfect Diſcipline.

IV. That they ſhall both join their Forces at Sea with all poſſible Strength.

V. That a good Body of *French*, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Troops ſhall be put on board both the Fleets, that ſo a Mixture may be made in both, to the end it may create leſs Jealouſy; and that the reſt of the *Engliſh* and other *Britiſh* Troops, that can be conveniently ſpared from *England*, ſhall be employ'd in the Land-Armies, againſt the Republick of *Holland*.

VI. That

VI. That after the War be once declared, such *French* Refugees as will shew themselves willing to serve under the *English* Banner against *Holland*, shall enjoy the Revenues which they had in *France*, tho they shall not be suffered to dwell there.

VII. That neither Side shall desist from the War, till a total Conquest be made of the said Country, which they think themselves sure enough of: And that when *Holland* shall be subjected by their united Force, there will then be no more Fear of any Opposition in *England*, to prevent the King from raising Arbitrary Power and the *Roman Catholick Religion* there to the same height as it is in *France*, nor from concurring with the *French* King, till he shall obtain the Empire for himself.

VIII. That the *French* King shall pay all the *British* Forces in *Flanders* and elsewhere, and be content to defray half the Charges of the War, that our King with his Pecuniary Assistance may be enabled to hold on the War with Vigour and Constancy enough to make a Conquest; but that afterwards, for a Recompence, he shall be obliged to assist *France* in any future War, with thirty Capital Ships, and twenty thousand Men, at half Charges borne.

Your Lordship knows much better how to make a Judgment of such a League, than I can pretend to; but I perceive the Effect will be dreadful, not only to poor *Holland* but to *England* too, unless the neighbouring Potentates be timously awakened to ward the Blow; and that such worthy Patriots as your self, rouse up and stand in the gap. But I pretend not to dictate to your Lordship what every generous *English* Man's Duty is to God and his Country upon such an occasion; and so conclude, with subscribing my self,

Paris, Jan. 24. 1687. N. S.

My Lord,

Your very Humble Servant.

LETTER XCIX.

Of Methods to be practiſed by King James *for keeping up the Diſpenſing Power, and particularly about diſcarding the Militia of the Kingdom.*

My Lord,

I Have upon another occaſion hinted ſomewhat to your Lordſhip of thoſe Arguments urged to the King for the promoting of the Diſpenſing Power; and you know very well, it has ſince been put in practice in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in the Caſe of Sir *E. H.* and how that Matter terminated to the King's Satisfaction, and further heightning of his Prerogative Royal, and how the ſame was eſtabliſhed by the Concurrence of the Judges of the Land, if they may be ſo called, who authorized the ſame. Theſe Points being gained, another Matter, and that of an higher Conſequence, was agitated in the Cabinet Council, *viz.* to uſe ſome means totally to diſcard the *Militia* of *England*, and in lieu of them to retain ſtanding Troops in the Nation; and to throw a little Duſt in the Peoples Eyes, and amuſe them ſo as that they might take little notice, or at leaſt not oppoſe thoſe their Proceedings, it was adviſed to act theſe previous things.

In order to ballance the great Power of the City of *London*, it was projected to grant a Charter to that of *Weſtminſter*, and that under the Pretence of its being the Royal Reſidence of the Kings of *England*, and of the ſupreme Court of Parliament, and therefore ought to be dignify'd with as ample Privileges as any City in the King's Dominions, *London* it ſelf not excepted; and to have a Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Sheriffs, and

all other Officers neceſſary for the Support and Grandeur of it: that great Incouragement ſhould be given to rich Merchants, wealthy Tradeſmen, *&c.* to dwell there, and to tranſport a great part of their Trade thither; which would cauſe them to ſtick cloſe to the Court, and Intereſts thereof.

And had this ſame Project gone on, it was alſo projected to have a new Stone-bridge, imitating that of *London*, but built much broader, and more convenient, erected between the *Palace-yard* and the *Horſe-Ferry*; and the King ſeems very eager and forward to promote ſo uſeful a Work.

Then the *Meuſe* was to be ditched round, and great care taken, as well as Expedition uſed, to have it filled with Stabling and other Buildings, fit to receive and lodg a good Body of Horſe; and to be made a Citadel, under pretence that ſuch Troops ſhould not be troubleſom, and a Burden to the ſaid City.

And when all this was accompliſhed, which was concerted to have been brought about in a ſhort time, the Militia of the Kingdom was to be new modelled, two or three times over; and the new Lord-Lieutenants of Counties, and other Officers chopped and changed to the Court's mind, who ſhould ſhew themſelves willing to obey the Orders they were to follow, which were to this effect; That the Militia ſhould be order'd to meet in their ſeveral reſpective Diſtricts, and there the Lord Lieutenants for the time being were to acquaint them, *That ſince to ſerve in the Militia was but a Trouble to them, as well as a Charge and Burden to the Country, yet without any Uſe or Security to the Crown or Kingdom, when all our neighbour Nations are armed with Veteran Troops; the King was adviſed, and now thought fit, to diſcharge them of the Trouble, and the Country of the Charge of maintaining them for the future*: and ſo order them to deliver up their Arms, to be diſtributed among regular Troops, that would be more uſeful and ſerviceable. But before this was to be put in execution, it was, my Lord, reſolved that a Toleration of

Religion ſhould be firſt granted, and ſevere Orders given to the Soldiers to pay their Quarters duly, demean themſelves quietly and orderly, and to abſtain from any manner of Violence; and all manner of Perſons, as well Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of *England*, as others of the *Roman* Communion, ſhould be admitted into the Army, either as Officers or Soldiers; and if any of the Churchmen ſhould grumble thereat, and begin to ſtomach it, it ſhould be alledged, *There was no Reaſon in the World the King ſhould be deprived of the Services of any of his Subjects, however denominated, as to their reſpective Religions, for the carping of a few Churchmen; who were more concerned for their own worldly Intereſts, and ſo would have all Places of Profit confined to thoſe of their own Stamp, than they were for the real Intereſt of the Church.* Then there were to be ſufficient Bodies of Soldiers to be placed all over *England* to aſſiſt the Lord-Lieutenants to ſee all the forementioned Orders put quietly in execution, and ready to ſuppreſs any Tumult that might be occaſioned thereby. This, my Lord, was the Projection; I ſhall endeavour to give your Lordſhip in my next, an account of the Oppoſition made hereunto, as this, and the reſt have been lately entred here in our Minutes, from Papers tranſmitted by the Reſident of *Modena* and Count *Dada* the Pope's Nuncio in *England*, to the Reſident of that Name, and Papal Nuncio in this Kingdom, and by them communicated to Monſieur *Louvois*: till then, I am and ever ſhall be,

My Lord,

Paris, Feb. 9.
1687. N. S.

Your Humble Servant.

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LETTER C.

Of the Oppoſition made by ſeveral Noblemen, and particularly by the Lord Marquiſs of POWIS, *againſt diſcarding the Militia of the Kingdom.*

My Lord,

IT is but a few days ſince I ſent to your Lordſhip the particular Reſolutions form'd in the Cabinet Council, of diſcarding the Militia, and other Methods that were to be purſued, as either previous to, or ſubſequent of ſuch a Deſign; and now I can aſſure your Lordſhip, that ſame Project was chiefly broken by the Marquiſs of *H.* D____ of *N.* and ſome other noble Perſons and worthy Patriots: but the Marquiſs of *Powis* had a greater hand in it than any of them, as being of greater Credit with the King; who repreſented how dangerous, and in a word, how impracticable ſuch a Project was: 'For, 'ſaid he, it will be impoſſible to find ſuch Lord Lieu-'tenants in the Kingdom as will undertake to put the 'ſame in execution, or any Officers that will obey, if 'they could find ſuch; that ſuch a Practice would neceſ-'ſitate the King to call in a *French* Army, which would 'as much enſlave his Majeſty to the *French*, as his own 'People would be thereby inthralled to him; and that 'he might aſſure himſelf the *French* Faction had no other 'Intent in adviſing him to it.' So that I find, my Lord, it was reſolv'd to let the Militia alone as it is, and go on to ſecure their Proceedings, by ſtuffing the Army with a Mixture of Nations as well as Perſuaſions, and to chop and change them ſo often, till at laſt they ſhall get *Roman* Catholicks enough in their Troops, ſo as con-

ſiderably to *out-number* the Proteſtants there, without calling in any Bodies of *French*. Which Reſolution, as I find it did not fully content this Court, ſo it hath madded them to uſe Stratagems to counterpoiſe it, by putting the King upon unſeaſonable and impolitick Artifices; and among others, to model and pack Parliaments: whereof I ſhall be able in my next, I think, to procure your Lordſhip the Projects laid before him; humbly hoping you'll take all in good part from one that has an *Engliſh* Heart, and will love both his Country and your Lordſhip, whilſt I am,

Paris, Feb. 17. 1687. N.S.

My Lord,
Your moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER CI.

Propoſitions made to King James II. *by the* French *Agents, for modelling and bridling of Parliaments.*

My Lord,

I Find abundance of Projects offer'd to the King by the Agency of this Court, concerning modelling and bridling of *Engliſh* Parliaments; ſome were for putting in execution the Advices given formerly for that purpoſe to King *James* I. ſpecify'd, I think, in *Ruſhworth's* Collections, to which I refer your Lordſhip: but that *Propoſition* was rejected, and others of more modern Date urged upon him, and particularly there were ſome who would have him procure a Parliament by *Oliver Cromwel's* Methods, chiefly to be compos'd of the Officers of the Army, with an Intermixture of ſome few others; and that being effected, he might by them in-

creaſe

creaſe very much the Revenue of his Crown, by ſetting up again the *Court of Wards*, and the Right of Purveyance; and by obliging all ſuch Noblemen who were by their Tenures antiently oblig'd to furniſh ſo many Horſe and Men, and other Neceſſaries, in the Wars either againſt *France* or *Scotland*, to ſupply a full Equivalent towards Ships, Men, Artillery, Proviſions, *&c.* for a War with the Republick of *Holland*, or any other Enemy whatſoever; which they would have call'd, for the greater Amuſement of the People, a reſtoring to the Crown the Jewels which had been uſurped from it: which that it might be further ſecur'd, it was likewiſe advis'd, That a *Star-Chamber*, with the ſame Juriſdiction as in the King's Father's time, ſhould be ſet up again; as alſo an High Commiſſion: which laſt, though a ſort of Tribunal introduc'd into *England* ſince it had prov'd ſchiſmatical, and that the Kings thereof had been declar'd *Head of the Church*, yet it might very well ſerve a preſent Turn, and give the leſs Jealouſy of his deſigning to introduce the *Roman Catholick Religion* among them thereby; but that if he did not look upon that Expedient ſeaſonable, and the rather becauſe it had been aboliſh'd in Parliament as a Grievance to the Subject, he had no reaſon to oppoſe the ſetting up of an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſince the Parliament themſelves had erected the ſame, though with a more limited Power than the other in lieu of it: and ſince they had judged it neceſſary for the repreſſing of the Inſolencies of the Churchmen, regulating their Manners, and obliging them to diſcharge their reſpective Duties in their ſeveral Stations, he being a Catholick King, had more reaſon than any other to make uſe of it. The laſt your Lordſhip has ſeen they have gain'd; and though the King hath a great Stomach to that other, yet my Lord *Powis*'s Party hath hitherto prevail'd and affrighten'd him from venturing upon ſuch things, unleſs he had been able, as he found he was not, to have ſucceeded in pulling down the Militia of the Kingdom, or at leaſt in getting ſuch an Army which he could fully rely upon, and that he hath not yet got either;

ther; but till then he could not pretend to declare the grand Charter void, as obtain'd by Force of Arms, and ſince infring'd and nullify'd by ſeveral Rebellions, but eſpecially by that in his Father's time, on the Subjects ſide, and now rule by a Council only without troubling himſelf with any thing more like unto a Parliament, as his *French* Friends adviſed him to. Your Lordſhip will excuſe the Freedom I have now and always uſed in my Correſpondence, and accept of my humble Duty; who am, and ever intend to continue,

Paris, April. 7. 1687. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Honour's to Command.

LETTER CII.

The Subſtance of Pope Innocent XI's *firſt Letter to the* French *King, about the Buſineſs of the* Regale.

My Lord,

I Cannot think but it will be acceptable to your Lordſhip to underſtand what the Contents of the Pope's Letters to the *French* King are, eſpecially in ſuch a conjuncture as this is, and when I believe you cannot be furniſh'd with a genuine Account by any other Hand. after the prefatory part, which is ſhort and conciſe, and ſomewhat different from others of his Predeceſſors, he comes cloſe to the Matter, and ſays, that he could not but reflect with great Aſtoniſhment, as well as much Grief and Sadneſs of Heart, upon the late unaccountable Conduct of ſo great a Prince, who would be thought to be, and call'd himſelf the firſt Son of the Catholick Church, and withal the moſt Chriſtian King, againſt the Holy See of *Rome*; that he ſhould pretend to ſo much

Zeal

Zeal for Religion, and yet at the ſame time invade the whole Rights of the Catholick Church; not only in the Kingdom of *France*, but even in the City of *Rome* her ſelf, by pretending to a pernicious Freedom of Quarters, which all other Catholick Princes had freely and generouſly renounced as a groſs Abuſe.

That his perſecuting the Proteſtants in the Kingdom of *France* ought no ways to privilege him to put Affronts upon the Holy See; it was very plain that was not the way to reunite thoſe People to the Church, when he himſelf was ſo ill a Pattern, and ſhew'd them ſo bad an Example, by contemning and outraging that ſame *Authority*, which he uſed Force and Violence to make them own: That he was much in the wrong, and acted prepoſterouſly, to proſecute them for not believing what he himſelf ſo ſcandalouſly oppos'd; and that for himſelf at the bottom, he was not of a perſecuting Spirit and Principle, but that he was fully convinc'd it was never Chriſt our Saviour, nor any of his Apoſtles way, who themſelves never were, nor ever uſed any Preachers with long Tails, Boots and Spurs, *&c.* That ſuch a Practice had done moſt Diſgrace to, and created, as well it might, more implacable Prejudice againſt the *Roman Catholick Religion* than any thing elſe whatſoever, and ſo by conſequence had much more obſtructed than advanc'd the Propagation of it: That it ought never to be uſed in any Kingdom already infected with Hereſy, though it is true, it were a very good Fence againſt its creeping in, where it had yet got no Footing: That it would be a means to blaſt all the blooming Hopes of the *Catholick Cauſe* in the Kingdom of *England*, and ingender pernicious Jealouſies, and a moſt cruel Oppoſition in the *Engliſh*, a ſtiff-necked People, and the moſt jealous of their Religion and Liberties of any Nation upon the Earth, againſt their King, who was a true Son of the Church, and break the neck of all his Deſigns for the introducing of it into his Dominions. And in a word, That he was ſo far from approving of it, that he every way diſliked it; and that it ſhould not throw Duſt in his

his Eyes from inſpecting into, and oppoſing of his Incroachments upon the Holy See, which he was reſolv'd to defend to the utmoſt Extremity; and ſo concluded with a ſhort Admonition: and with which concludes this Letter to your Lordſhip, from him who is,

Paris, June 3. 1687. *My Lord, Your moſt Devoted Servant.*

LETTER CIII.

An Account of Pope Innocent XI's *ſecond Letter to the* French *King, about perſecuting the* French *Proteſtants*, &c.

My Lord,

SINCE my laſt, I have had the opportunity to take the Heads of another Letter written ſoon after that I have already ſent you, by the Pope to the *French* King; and is to this purpoſe.

In the firſt place, he takes upon him to refute the Anſwers and frivolous Complaints of the *French* King, and then deſcends to ridicule his vain Pretence of Piety, in perſecuting the Proteſtants of his Kingdom for denying him Obedience, while he was no leſs ſevere to the Biſhops of *Alet* and *Pamiers*, and ſome other Eccleſiaſticks, and even to ſome poor Abbeſſes and their Nuns, for paying that Obedience which was due to the Papal Authority; that this did not only look like it, but really was nothing leſs than building up the Church with the left Hand, and at the ſame time pulling it down with the right.

That he was well inform'd what Writings came out in *France* againſt his Authority, which he well knew was that of the Holy Apoſtolick See; what *Theſes* were there main-

maintain'd, and what was done by his over-awing the Assembly of the Clergy of his Kingdom; how and what Method he had taken to level the *French* Jesuits against him, and employ'd *Maimburg* to represent his Supremacy as precarious, itinerant and ambulatory, and not fix'd to the City of *Rome* her self, but only to the *Capital* City of the most powerful Christian Prince in the World for the time; that is *gallicè*, to *Paris*, in the present Age: That he well understood not only this, but also the Designs that were form'd by him to erect a new Religion, which should totally swallow up and devour both *Roman Catholicks* and *Protestants*, and how far he purposed to imitate King *Henry* VIII. of *England*, who writ a Book for the Pope's Supremacy, and not long after burnt and beheaded People for owning it; when also at the very same time he persecuted the Protestants for opposing other Points.

That it very ill became, and it was not the part of a Dutiful and Religious Son, as he pretended to be, and would have the World believe, to abuse his Supreme Pastor; to despoil him not only of his antient Rights, granted him by his pious Predecessors, but even of those very ones which he then enjoy'd, and were deriv'd by universal Consent and constant Tradition of all good Catholicks, and of the Rights of his just Sovereignty in the City of *Rome* her self.

That however let him the *French* King do what he pleased, yet all that ever he should or could do, should not make him abate the least jot or tittle of his just Pretensions about the *Regale*, nor the Franchises of Quarters; but that he was resolv'd to be Pope in *France*, and Sovereign in *Rome*, from which no Force should ever make him depart or flinch back the least degree, whatever Dangers he were expos'd unto.

This great Constancy, my Lord, in the old Pontiff, hath not a little appalled the exorbitant Pride and Fury of this Court; however they have put the best face they can upon it, and seem resolv'd to break through all Opposition, and out-brave whatever shall be in their way,

and

and divert their Reſolution; and I am aſſur'd the *French* Ambaſſador *Lavardin* at *Rome* hath already, purſuant to his Orders from hence, highly menaced the old Dad, who in a third Letter to the King has made anſwerable Reply; of which I am pretty confident I ſhall in my next tranſmit to your Lordſhip the Particulars: but in the mean time remain,

My Lord,

Paris, June 19. 1687. N. S.

Your Faithful Servant.

LETTER CIV.

The Contents of Pope Innocent XI's *third Letter to the* French *King, in anſwer to that of his; wherein he ſhews his Folly and Miſtake in his Pretenſions and Demands, and threatens the Cenſure of the Church againſt him, and ſhews the Inconveniency and Danger of ſetting up a Patriarch in* France, *&c.*

My Lord,

I Wiſh your Lordſhip as much Satisfaction in the Peruſal of this Letter, as I have in keeping my Promiſe made to you in my laſt about the Pope's third Letter; in getting ſight of the Minutes whereof, I have met with much greater difficulty than I expected, or was uſual with me. I have already hinted Monſieur *Lavardin*'s Menaces made at *Rome* upon the Subject-matter of the former Letter; and therefore the Pope begins his with anſwering thoſe Menaces, which imported that the King ſhould affranchiſe *France* from the *Roman See*, nominate a ſeparate Patriarch there, and elect Biſhops of his own, without

without having any recourse to the Bishop of *Rome*, and in the mean while invade the Pope's Territories with his Arms, and force the Franchises for his Ambassador; and fiercely replying, That he is resolv'd, as in Conscience bound to do, to transmit the Franchises, and all other Rights of the Apostolick See, to his Successors as he found them.

That he would recognize or allow of no Bishop of the King's nominating, till he had Satisfaction about the *Regale*; that if he would be so heady as to proceed to nominate a new Patriarch, it would make a greater combustion in his Kingdom than he was aware of, to which his Persecution of the Protestants would not a little contribute; which he should find would be very unseasonable for him, and would in all likelihood raise all *Christendom* against him, as well as his own Subjects; that thereby he would make a wide Gap to let in an Inundation of Heresies, which he pretends to keep out, and would teach the People, after they had once trampled on the Pope's Authority, to trample at last on that of the Bishops and King's too, and even on their very Persons, as they had done in *England*: and that when he had pulled down the mighty Dam of the Papal Power, and let that ruging Sea in, it would be out of his power to stop it where and when he would. Wherefore he conjured him and his Clergy to consider seriously, yea twice and thrice, of that weighty Project, before they went to put it in execution; lest they might, when they found it too late, repent it, and in vain attempt to recal the same.

That he must not think to fright him with the Noise of an Invasion; for that though he would neither arm himself nor the rest of the Princes of *Italy* against him, as he might do, but oppose only Prayers and Tears, yet if he desisted not from his pretended *Regale* and Franchises, he would excommunicate *Lavardin*, his Ambassador, and interdict the Kingdom, and set it in such a flame about his ears, as should make him glad to go tamely back again, and look after his own home: that

after

after all, ſhould he ſack and plunder *Rome*, captivate his Perſon, and have all other Succeſſes he could imagine, it would be a very inglorious Expedition for *Lewis* the Great, the eldeſt Son of the Church, and ſuch a pretended Bigot for it, to ravage its Territories, and aſſault the Supreme Paſtor of it with thoſe Arms with which he was bound to defend it; and but a ſmall Triumph to ſo great a Conqueror to over-power and martyrize a poor, helpleſs, and unarmed old Man, as he was, for whom ſome of his Predeceſſors would have been content to have become Martyrs themſelves; and therefore conjures him to think once more very ſeriouſly of it, and then to act as he pleaſed: but withal aſſures him, That neither his Menaces nor his Arms ſhall make him flinch an hair's breadth from thoſe his laſt Reſolutions, wherein he was fully reſolv'd to perſiſt to the laſt Drop of his Blood.

Thus, my Lord, you have the brave Reſolution of a *Roman* Pontiff, who, though the Title and Dignity of Chriſt's earthly Vicegerent be falſly aſcrib'd to him, yet undoubtedly he is poſſeſs'd of a Soul above that of common Mortals, and whom I therefore honour and eſteem, as I have always done, and ever ſhall your Lordſhip; who am,

My Lord,

Paris, June 28.
1687. N.S.

Your moſt Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER CV.

Of the Tryal and Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, *by virtue of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.*

My Lord,

I Have once and again intimated to your Lordſhip ſome Methods that were propoſed to be proſecuted, in order to the ſetting up of the King's Diſpenſing Power; and among other things, to the beſt of my remembrance, taken notice of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, with the Reaſons urged to the King for making uſe of it: and now you have ſeen the Effects of it upon my Lord of *London*; whom ſome of them have ſaid, 'They were 'reſolv'd to be reveng'd on for doing his Duty in the 'Houſe of Lords, by moving, after the Lords had vo-'ted an Addreſs of Thanks to the King for his Speech 'to that Seſſion, after the Death of the Duke of *Mon-'mouth*, in his own and his Brethrens Name, That the 'Houſe would take the King's Speech into Conſidera-'tion, and debate the ſame.' But this way was not then reſolv'd on, but ſeveral others projected, which yet they found impracticable: when the Commiſſion was agreed to be erected, they had even then an eye to the Biſhop, though no plauſible Pretence for the Proſecution of him, and therefore the ſaid Commiſſion lay dormant for ſome Months, till ſuch time as they might ſee the Effects of another Project to be put in practice; which was, That ſome Reglements made in the late King's Reign, in the Year 1662. importing, among other things, The Clergy in their Sermons ſhould not meddle with State-Affairs, nor enter upon any Queſtion that concern'd the Rights of the King's Subjects, nor to treat of ſome Points in

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Divinity, which formerly had created great Troubles in the Kingdom, particularly thoſe of Predeſtination and Free-Will; nor yet to mix invective Reproaches, Railleries and ſcandalous Expreſſions with their Controverſies; ſhould be re-publiſh'd under a very ſtrict Injunction of all Parties concern'd to the Obſervance of them; and the leaſt Tranſgreſſion in that kind to be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity. They did not queſtion in the mean while, but that in ſo tickliſh a time, there might be ſome one or other, eſpecially in the Dioceſs of *London*, whom this Birdlime might catch: your Lordſhip knows how it fell out accordingly in the Caſe of Dr. *Sharp*.

Though they were mighty jealous of the old Gentleman of *Canterbury*, that if he were nominated in the Commiſſion, and ſhould chance to act, which was the leaſt of their Thoughts he ſhould, he might rather thwart than promote their Deſigns; yet being pretty confident he would not concern himſelf with it, they adventur'd to put him in, not for his Authority, but his Name-ſake only: for, conſider'd they, ſhould we get the Biſhop of *London* once into the Toyl, he will have no room to plead to the Juriſdiction of the Court, ſeeing the ſame was founded upon the concurrent, though in truth but nominal, Authority of his Metropolitan, to whom he ow'd Canonical Obedience. Theſe things your Lordſhip may know much better than I, but I cannot forbear giving you any Hints of Court-Deſigns; which, whether projected here or on your ſide, we have conſtant Intelligence of in our ——— I am,

Paris, Aug. 30. 1687. N.S.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble

and Devoted Servant.

LET-

LETTER CVI.

Of the Liberty of Conſcience firſt granted in Scotland, *and then in* England, *by King* James II.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip may call to mind what I have before written to you concerning Toleration in Religion, as neceſſary to facilitate the King's Deſigns; and now you ſee it hath ſprouted up in *Scotland*, and the Buddings of it are viſible enough in *England*. That the Parliament of the former, as well as the latter, oppos'd the Diſpenſing Power, is notoriouſly known; ſo that there was much leſs hopes they would have concurred to the Indulgence, a Point as neceſſary to be gain'd every whit as the other: That the *Scotch* Nation were more modelled to the King's hand than the *Engliſh*, the King himſelf well knew, as having a perſonal Share in it when High Commiſſioner in that Kingdom in his Brother's Reign: and the *French* and *Engliſh* Jeſuitical Faction knew this as well as he; and therefore I am aſſured both of them concurred to have the Indulgence given there firſt, and that alſo in ſo partial a manner in favour of thoſe of the King's Religion, that the reſt have hardly any ſhare therein: which manifeſts plainly the Deſign of the *Engliſh* Catholicks, whatever ſpecious Pretence they may otherwiſe uſe, is to bring the People of *England* alſo under the ſame, nay a worſe Yoke of Servitude, and to have their own Religion predominant quickly, and in time the only one in both Nations. And as for the third, they are cock-ſure of that already; but that of the *French* Emiſſaries is not ſo viſible and above board:

board: for they hope ſuch partial Proceedings muſt at laſt incenſe the People of both Kingdoms, and that to ſo violent a degree, that the King muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to call in *French* Force to quell them: and then, my Lord, when they have once got ſure footing, who can gueſs at their further Aim? However, they have not with all their Intrigues been able to prevail with the King to uſe the ſame Partiality in *England*, who, according to the Tranſmiſſion of their Intelligence hither, ſeem'd very much inclin'd to it, upon their urging the Tractableneſs of the *Scotch* Council in the matter, and what a great Pattern they had ſet to them of *England*, who they did not doubt would abrogate the Laws made againſt *Roman* Catholicks, *&c.* in imitation of them; but a *Roman* Catholick Lord, whom I have formerly named to your Lordſhip, to have interpoſed upon the like occaſion, thwarted them therein: He deſerves well of his Country in ſome reſpects, and I do not queſtion but your Honour is of that mind, and ſo ſhall I be, till I ſee more than I do now to incline me to the contrary; who am,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 5.
1687. N.S.

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Obedient Servant.

LET-

LETTER CVII.

Of the French *Projects to put King* James *upon deſperate Meaſures in* Ireland, *and their Ends therein.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip may remember how I have formerly given you the State of the *Iriſh* Soldiers in the Service of *France* during the late King's Reign, and what Encouragement they have had here from time to time, above any of the reſt of the *Britiſh* Nations, and the large Promiſes that were now and then made, That they ſhould be reinſtated in their antient Poſſeſſions in their native Country. But this King hath no ſooner aſcended the *Engliſh* Throne, than that they have as readily return'd into *England* and *Ireland*, as they were willing before, even contrary to their Allegiance, to remain in the *French* Service; the reaſon whereof your Lordſhip muſt needs know, they having already devour'd with their Eyes the moſt valuable Preferments in *England* and *Ireland* (in the latter whereof they have got a Lieutenant of their own ſtamp) and more than all the Lands which they have been debarred from by the Act of Settlement; having (as I can aſſure your Lordſhip) a previous Promiſe from this Court, That the King will uſe all imaginable Endeavours to get his Brother of *England* to conſent to aboliſh it; and which has put the *Iriſh* ſo hotly upon renewing their Importunities to the King againſt the ſaid Act, that he hath in a manner agreed to thoſe Meaſures that are purſuant thereunto: in which Motions the *Iriſh* were order'd to be effectually ſeconded by the Emiſſaries of this Court, who at the ſame time have encou-

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rag'd the *Iriſh* privately with a Promiſe, That if after all, the King would not give his full Conſent, or durſt not do them Right, their Maſter was reſolv'd to do it, provided they would chuſe him for their Protector; which they might lawfully do, being at beſt but a conquer'd Nation, againſt their Conquerors, for the Recovery not only of their Native Rights in that Land, but likewiſe of thoſe afreſh confirm'd to them by the Treaty (whether pretended or real, I will not determine upon that Head) with the late King *Charles* II. of which the *French* King was Guarantee, and therefore juſtly might and ought to be call'd in as a Vindicator. And this, my Lord, is confeſs'd here, that they had form'd ſo ſtrong a Party among the *Iriſh*, that if the King had not in ſome meaſure comply'd, or does not for the future, but fail'd their Hopes by keeping it, as the Intereſt of his Kingdom, one ſhould think, naturally leads him to that ſide of the Ballance againſt *France*, and maintaining the Act of Settlement, they had bid fair, as I have heard it more than whiſper'd here, for a general Revolt of the *Iriſh* Natives in their favour, whom they had provided to ſuccour on a ſudden, without declaring War, or the leaſt Intimation before-hand of their Deſigns to the King. But now having prevail'd with him to make ſuch Advances as he has begun againſt the ſaid famous Act, which they have look'd upon as it were the Band of Peace, not only to *Ireland*, but even to the three Nations; and perhaps they are right enough in their Judgment: they believe they have hereby put him on a Point that will quickly bring him into diſtreſs enough to need them; and conſequently, to the Neceſſity of taking his future Meaſures from them, expecting henceforward a more implicit Compliance than ever.

Thus, my Lord, have they laid their Foundation; the Succeſs and Event, Time muſt determine: but from ſuch undermining Politicians, *Good Lord deliver* England, *&c.* for the Dangers which threaten both its Religion and Civil Liberty are very great, though I hope not inevitable. Pardon the Freedom in theſe Particulars of him

who

who is, and ever ſhall remain ready to pleaſe your Lordſhip to the utmoſt of his power, and cannot but ſubſcribe himſelf,

My Lord,

Paris, Mar. 26. 1687.

Your Honour's moſt Humble and moſt Obedient Servant.

LETTER CVIII.

Of King James's *cloſetting ſeveral Perſons, and the Arguments he was adviſ'd to uſe to them to conſent to the abrogating of the Penal Laws and Teſt.*

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip, for ought I know, may know much better than I can inform you, what Arguments the King has uſed to ſuch as have been lately cloſetted by him; and if Fame be not a ——, you are one of that number: for a Liſt of them is not yet come into our ——; but I can tranſmit to your hands what has been concerted here in the nature of Inſtructions to the *French* Emiſſaries at *White-Hall* hereupon. They were to repreſent to the King, and he to the cloſetted Gentlemen, That there were four Kings who had endeavour'd to bring the Kingdom of *England* into an Uniformity in Religion, that ſo the People might live in Amity one with another: and notwithſtanding all the Expedients, though ſeemingly very likely to take effect, and ſucceed according to Wiſh, which wiſe Politicians had ſuggeſted from time to time; yet they had hitherto proved abortive, and their Endeavours had been in vain:

That therefore the only way left to ſettle Tranquillity in a State, ſo as to be no more diſturb'd about Religion, was to grant every one the Freedom fully to enjoy his own: That ſuch an Indulgence of all Religions in *Holland* was as much a Cauſe of the flouriſhing of that State in Wealth and Greatneſs, and more than any other that could be aſſign'd; and to ſay that ſuch a Liberty, though it might be compatible enough with a Republick, was not yet with Monarchical Governments, was a groſs Miſtake; and Experience ſhew'd it to be quite otherwiſe both in the *Turkiſh* Empire, Kingdom of *Perſia*, and elſewhere, where the *Greek* and *Armenian* Chriſtians have been tolerated in their Religion for many Ages, and yet have been ſo far from being mutinous, or Diſturbers of the reſpective States they have lived under, that they are great Supporters of them; eſpecially the *Armenians*, who are almoſt the only Merchants they have in that mighty and extenſive Kingdom of *Perſia*: That the Perſecutions which our Nonconformiſts in *England* have from time to time been under, had been the Cauſe of the Flight of many good Subjects beyond the Seas, of whom our neighbouring Nations drew great and ſolid Advantages; and that thoſe who have ſtaid at home, have, by reaſon of the Preſſures they have labour'd under, prov'd uneaſy, and turn'd Malecontents: And if they have not had Virtue and Conſtancy enough patiently to ſuffer under their Misfortunes, they were always ready to favour Revolts, and enter into Factions, whereof they had ſeen fatal Effects in the late Reigns, from which no King could be able to ſecure his Perſon and his Subjects; but that uneaſy and turbulent Spirits would be always ready, under pretence of Religion, which they abuſed, to diſturb and moleſt them. Which Reaſons the King was to back cloſely with large Promiſes of Favour, and if he found any obſtinate, to mix his Reaſons and Promiſes with ſome Intimations of his Diſpleaſure; and, upon an abſolute Refuſal, to proceed to diveſt ſome of their Places under him: and to alledge for a Reaſon of his ſo doing, That it was not reaſonable

that

that they who refuſed their Services ſhould enjoy his Favours: and that if hereupon any ſhould be ſo audacious as to tell him, that this Practice of his was irregular, and contrary to the Freedom which the Laws of the Land allow'd to them, eſpecially as Members of Parliament, whoſe Suffrages ought to be ſpontaneous and free, they were to be put in mind, that they had forgot the Violences uſed by King *Henry* VIII. upon the like Occaſions, and the Methods ſo many other Kings had put in practice, to engage their Parliaments to ſubſcribe to their Wills: That they might conſider that two of the moſt famous Parliaments that ever were in the Kingdom of *England* had authoriz'd this Conduct, in the Reign of *Edward* III. and King *Richard* II. when ſome of the Pope of *Rome's Bulls* were conteſted, as being look'd upon too much to intrench on the King's Prerogative; That the Parliament pray'd King *Edward*, and obliged *Richard*, almoſt againſt his Will, to give their Conſent, by particular Conferences with the Members, to promiſe to uſe the utmoſt of their power to maintain the King's Prerogative, and the Rights of the Crown, againſt that See, *&c.* But if that after all, the King ſhould find, that neither Arguments, Promiſes, Threats, nor Examples would do, he was adviſ'd to proceed in his Brother's ſteps by *Quo Warranto*, and ſo to concert Meaſures with thoſe that preſided over Elections, for the regulating of Corporations whereon they depended: tho this was by far the more tedious way, but yet there was one way to haſten it; for whereas new Charters, in his Brother's time granted in lieu of the old ones, were many of them retarded, becauſe the Court-Officers inſiſted upon too much Mony; the King now might give poſitive Directions to ſuch Perſons to diſpatch them without ſuch Conſiderations, with a Promiſe to gratify them another way: and if he found that would not do, then he was to caſhier ſuch Officers, and put others in their room, who would engage to do the buſineſs to effect.

I am afraid, my Lord, I have weary'd you with an impertinent Letter; and therefore if an abrupt Conclusion will any way mend the matter, I remain,

Paris, Nov. 19. 1687. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER CIX.

Of my Lord Caſtlemain's *being ſent Ambaſſador to* Rome *by King* James, *and of his receiving the Pope's Nuncio in* England.

My Lord,

THAT my Lord of *Caſtlemain* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome*, had been tranſacted wholly on your ſide of the Water; for beſides that this Court were then, and are ſtill at variance with the Papal See, there is not the leaſt Inſtruction tranſmitted from hence (as far as I can find) either to *England* or *Rome* concerning that matter: but perhaps he might receive them *in tranſitu*, and by word of mouth, only from M. *L.* who fail'd not to ſee him. But as for Count *Dada*, the *Apoſtolick Nuncio*, as they call him, they have ſhew'd ſome Concern here, that he ſhould have an honourable Reception in *England*, and have order'd it ſo, as to get our King to diſpenſe with that Ceremony which *Henry* VIII. and even his Daughter Queen *Mary* inſiſted upon, that he ſhould wait like a Mumper at a *French* Port till he had leave granted him to enter into *England*; and that the *Engliſh* Nation, who had not ſeen ſuch a Viſion for near an Age and a half, might not be over-terrify'd with it, the *French* Agents were inſtructed to ſuggeſt unto thoſe Lords, and others whom they ſhould think moſt ſuſcep-

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tible of their Sophistry, That since the King, as a *Roman Catholick* Prince, could do no less than send an Ambassador to *Rome* to salute the Pope, though it were but for Form-sake, and that his said Ambassador had had such an extraordinary Reception, and great Civilities shew'd him there; it were but very equitable the King, in his turn, should shew the like to his Nuncio, who was a Layman, and in that quality came to congratulate his Accession to the Throne from his Master; not so much as he sat in St. *Peter*'s Chair, as because he was a Temporal Prince, to whose Ministers, as such, the Law of Nations required a just Deference should be paid: That to send a solemn Embassy to the *Great Turk*, who was a *Mahometan*, and a sworn Enemy to all *Christians* however denominated, was never so much as boggled at by any *Englishman*, or other Christian Nation whatsoever, either in this or any preceding Age: That the Ambassadors of the Emperor of *Morocco* had been lately receiv'd in *England* most honourably, and yet their Master both a *Mahometan* and a *Barbarian* Prince, in whose Countries *Christians* were treated more like brute Beasts than Men: and should they disdain to concur with their Prince, to receive with some Ceremony, and if not by way of a publick and pompous Entry, yet privately in his Palace, a Minister from him, to whose Civilities many of our *English* Nobility and Gentry were highly obliged in their Travels to *Rome* and *Italy*? But what Success they have had in this petty Agency, your Lordship can tell much better than I at this distance; but the Duke of *Somerset* is as highly exclaim'd against here, for refusing to perform the Ceremony of introducing the *Nuncio*, as the Duke of *Grafton* is applauded for doing it; who, I hope for all that, will never have the Thanks of a House of Commons for it. I am,

My Lord,

Your very Obedient
and Humble Servant.

Paris, Nov. 27.
1687. N.S.

LETTER CX.

Of the French *Politicks to embroil* England.

My Lord,

THE *French* Emiſſaries having gain'd ſeveral Points, and particularly that mention'd in my laſt, they have lately turned their Batteries another way; they have been moſt of this while endeavouring to compaſs their Ends, by putting the King, and thoſe who have moſt Influence over him, upon deſperate Courſes; whereof the moſt material I have, as occaſion has ſerved, noted to your Lordſhip. It will hardly be believ'd, that they would offer to propoſe any Maxims to the Legal Party in *England*, that are really for their advantage; did not their Inſtructions make it appear to be ſo, though they have propoſed far different Ends therein. I do not queſtion but your Lordſhip has obſerv'd the Uneaſineſs of the Nation under the preſent Proceedings of the King and Court-Party: but though they have juſt cauſe of Suſpicion, I muſt aſſure your Lordſhip the ſame has been, and may ſtill be aggravated by the Agents of this Court; who teach them to infuſe into the People, That the *Proteſtant Religion* is in great danger; That the Reduction of the *Roman Catholicks* to the Bounds eſtabliſh'd by the Law of the Land is highly neceſſary, and unleſs the latter be effected, it will be impoſſible for the former long to ſubſiſt; That it was viſible the Privileges of Parliament were infring'd more than in any time of their Anceſtors; That Arbitrary Power was already acted, and without timely prevention would get ſuch Rooting, that all the Power of *England* could not dethrone it; That there was not ſcarce one made a Noble-

bleman ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Throne in the three Kingdoms, but ſuch as were Papiſts; and, that all Honours and Offices of Profit, either in Court or Camp, were ſhared among ſuch, whilſt the Proteſtants lay neglected as uſeleſs Perſons, and ſuch as were deem'd to have no ſhare nor lot in the Government: That the Perſon of the King, it's true, was ſacred, but at the ſame time it was not only juſtifiable, but an incumbent Duty upon them, as *Engliſhmen*, as they would anſwer it to God and their Country, timouſly to think of the Danger, and to apply the Remedy; for without the Removal of ſuch Miniſters as then managed the State, it would be in vain to expect their Grievances could be redreſſed, and their Religion and Liberties ſecured. And if they find themſelves hearken'd to, and their Propoſitions approved, they have further Inſtructions to hint an Aſſociation for one Expedient, *&c.* God Almighty knows what will become of poor *England* amidſt ſo many Deſigns upon her Religion and Liberty, both by Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies, who continually prey upon her Vitals: I can but pray for her, as I do and always ſhall for your Lordſhip; who am,

Paris, Dec. 13. 1687. N. S.

My Lord,

Your moſt Devoted Servant.

LETTER CXI.

King James (*though already much disposed*) *put more out of Conceit with the Prince of* Orange; *who is represented by the* French *Agents very illy to him.*

My Lord,

I Have in my last suggested to you some of those Arguments the Emissaries of this Court have, and are to use to the *Church-of-England-Men*, as they find Occasion, and a Disposition to receive them, for to put them upon violent Courses, to their own and the Nation's Destruction; but at the same time they have entertain'd an incurable Jealousy of the Prince of *Orange*, and construe the most just and generous Actions of a Prince who was always so, in the worst Sense imaginable, and as such, represent them to the King, whom they cunningly whistle in the ear; saying, That he could not but know there were some Persons in the Nation who were not pleased with his way of proceeding, and therefore would be sure to take all Opportunities to oppose him; That indeed now *Monmouth* was cut off, they had no plausible Head to retire unto; That for the Prince of *Orange*, tho he had apparently omitted nothing since his Majesty's Advancement to the Throne for the maintaining of a fair Correspondence with him, and been very forward to pay all the Devoirs due from a Son to a Father-in-law, affecting much Zeal for his Interest, and acting with his Ministers of State, as if he himself were the prime of them; yet they desire him to consider the thoughtful and designing Nature of the Prince, who to be sure was not wanting to observe every pace made by the *English*, and to dispose of his own Affairs and People accordingly: That

That his Majesty could not but remember the Applications made to him formerly in his Brother's Reign from *England*, when he was but Nephew to the King and himself; but now, that he was advanc'd by his Marriage to a much nigher degree to the Crown, could it be thought that he had less Thoughts concerning it, or less Application made unto him on that behalf, especially in so ticklish a time? That some Persons of Note going over lately into *Holland*, was no sign he was unconcern'd at the *English* Affairs, or unapply'd to, but must needs give Umbrage, and more than a Suspicion that he had already a strong Party within the Kingdom; and that indeed his Conduct without was next to a Demonstration of it, since he had done all that ever he could to hinder his Majesty from all the Succours he might expect from abroad, in case of any Domestick Troubles: for tho his Majesty was sure of *France*, and had made a general Alliance with *Spain*, and might then be apt to believe that the House of *Austria* would not oppose him, especially when the *Catholick Religion* was the Dispute; yet it was manifest the Prince had bid fair for the depriving him of both those Supports, first by entring himself, and then by causing the *United Provinces* to enter into the League at *Ausburg* against *France*, to the end he might draw down upon that Monarchy the united Forces of the Confederates, in case the *French* King should offer to attack the States Territories, while he might make use of their Power both by Sea and Land, to carry on his Designs against his Majesty and his Kingdoms: and then, that he had render'd the House of *Austria* very suspicious of his Majesty, as being a Prince contrary to their Designs, one in Interests, and closely engag'd with *France* in a secret Treaty, which would appear in due time. I can assure your Lordship, that by the Returns which have been made hither, the King has been but too susceptible of these Calumnies against the Prince, and I fear to his prejudice, tho I heartily wish it otherwise; who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Humble and Obedient Servant.

Paris, Jan. 11. 1688. N.S.

LETTER CXII.

Of the Spaniards *attempting to bring King* James *over to their Intereſt, but in vain.*

My Lord,

HOwever the Emiſſaries of this Court have traduced the noble Prince of *Orange* to the King, yet they have in ſome ſort given the Lye to themſelves, when notwithſtanding all their Rhodomontade, about the Prince's engaging the Houſe of *Auſtria* againſt his Majeſty, they have been ſo alarmed at the Propoſals made to him by the *Spaniards*, of a ſtricter Alliance, which they knew, if entred into, muſt invalidate that made with them. The Emperor and King of *Spain* being ſuſpicious of the Alliance with *France*, had enter'd into a Confederacy with the Princes of *Germany* at *Ausburg*, as I have hinted in my laſt; and that they might make their Party as ſtrong as they could, and have at the ſame time no clear Demonſtration of our King's private Leaguing with *France*, they reſolved to leave nothing uneſſay'd, either to know that it was really ſo; or, if not, to engage the King in their Intereſt. The Marquiſs *de Guaſtanaga*, Governour of *Flanders*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, were the Perſons employ'd by that illuſtrious Houſe in that Affair. It's well known here that the latter has omitted nothing that could be done to bring the King over, urging to him the Honour and Intereſt of ſuch an Alliance; that it was the only Opportunity he had left to recover the good Opinion of his Subjects, who, he muſt needs know himſelf, were ſomewhat alienated in their Affections from him, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe.

And

And he did at last proceed so far, well knowing his blind ——, as to engage, if his Majesty would enter into, and be cordial in such an Alliance, to order it so that his Parliament should acquiesce with whatever he was then attempting to get established in respect of Religion, which he could never effect by the Assistance and Agency of *France*; their harsh Procedure against the Reformed there being too green and fresh in Memory, to be so soon forgotten by the *English*, who had besides a natural Aversion to that Nation and their Politicks. But, my Lord, all that *Don Ronquillo* has done, was communicated to the *French* Emissaries, who presently took the Scent; and being not willing to give the King space to demur upon the Matter, lost no time in remonstrating to him, 'That they who had told him, that he 'ought to take that opportunity to gain his Subjects, by 'entring into the League of *Ausburg*, had not reflec- 'ted upon the ill Consequence that followed upon such 'a Procedure: That that League now agitated was but 'the Consequence of another made at *Magdeburg* by 'the Protestants, in favour of the *Hugonots*: And that 'it were against all good Reason and Sense, that a Prince 'who did his utmost to procure a Liberty to *Roman Ca- 'tholicks* in *England*, should concur to re-establish the 'most rigid of Protestants in *France*. Besides, it would 'argue no good Policy for him to forsake a solid Friend, 'such as the *French* King was, to join himself to such 'Princes, who would no longer be useful to him, than 'while they had need of him; since the Protestants had 'already begun to over-reach their Piety, so far as to 'draw them into Leagues formed against a Catholick 'Prince, in favour of the *Calvinists*, whom he had 'driven out of his Dominions.' Wherefore the King made answer to *Don Ronquillo* in general terms; 'That 'as he would faithfully preserve the Alliance made be- 'tween him and his Master, so the same Fidelity obli- 'ged him not to violate that Friendship which was be- 'tween him and the Most Christian King, his Kinsman,

'who

'who was willing to live at peace with his Neighbours,
'and maintain the ſame as far as he could between them.'

Thus, my Lord, this hopeful Overture was blaſted, the Conſequence whereof I refer to him who knows all things, and to whoſe Protection I commend your Lordſhip; who am,

My Lord,

Your very obliged
Servant to command.

Paris, March 16.
1688. N. S.

LETTER CXIII.

Arguments uſed to King James *by the Lord Marquiſs of* Powis, *Pope's Nuncio*, &c. *againſt a War with* Holland.

My Lord,

THAT the King, purſuant to his late Alliances with this Crown, deſigns a War, in conjunction with the *French* Arms, againſt *Holland*, is no longer a Secret here, whatever it may be in *England*; eſpecially ſince *Don Ronquillo*'s Artifices to gain him over to the *Auſtrian* Intereſt, as I mentioned to your Lordſhip in my laſt, have failed, tho he were briskly ſeconded therein by the Lord Marquiſs of *Powis*, the Pope's Nuncio, and Emperor's Miniſter: whoſe Reaſons, or rather Remonſtrances of the King upon that Head, for want of better Intelligence, I ſhall at preſent take notice of to your Lordſhip, as entred in our Minutes, and which indeed were ſuch that 'tis a wonder he ſhould withſtand them; *ſed quem Deus*——

1. They preſt it very home upon him, that ſuch a War againſt the States of *Holland* could not be attempted with any apparent Advantage to his Majeſty, without a Junction with the *French* Power, which yet in all human

pro-

probability would never enable him to conquer those Provinces, since both the Crown of *Spain* and the Emperor, nay the Empire would be obliged to protect them; to war with whom, especially with *Spain*, whose Trade, as he well knew, was most beneficial to *England* of any in the World, would be attended with such manifest Disadvantage, as all the Power of *France*, were that King a faithful Ally, would never be able to make the Nation amends for: And that supposing he should be able to conquer the said Republick by the Assistance of the *French* Arms, yet to conquer it by *French* Force, would necessarily but make himself, as well as that Nation, a Tributary and Underling to *France*.

2. That in all likelihood a War with *Holland*, and against the House of *Austria*, would disgust his Subjects, and set them all against him; yea, and perhaps move some hot Spirits to form Designs to dispossess him of his Throne: or at least, so far to make Opposition, as to knock on the head all his fine Projects for the Advancement of his own Religion in *England*, and engaging of his very Catholick Subjects against him.

3. That if his Majesty intended the Re-establishment of the Catholick Faith in *England*, it was to be consider'd, that the same was a Work of time, and required great Moderation; but that they were sure the hot and furious Methods of *France* and the Jesuits, would never effect it.

4. That to them, for the effectual bringing about of the said Work, there seemed a kind of Necessity, that he should stay till the Discords between the Catholick Princes were so far appeased, as to be without danger of breaking out in a long time; for that all their Concurrence would be found to be little enough to enable him to accomplish his Ends therein.

5. That if he should chuse rather to enter into a strict Alliance with the House of *Austria* against the *French*, he would thereby render himself secure of his People's Hearts and Affections, of the *Dutch* Naval Force to strengthen him at Sea, as occasion required, and of all

the

the other Allies Forces, to divert the *French* Armies by Land. And that if he ſhould loſe upon that account, as 'twas likely, any Remittances from *France*, they aſſured him, the Pope would allow him a much better Penſion to countervail it; and that being engaged againſt *France*, his People would be ſo intent againſt the *French*, and upon that War, ſo agreeable to their Inclination, that they would not be ſo very jealous of, and ſo prying into the Advances he ſhould make in the Change of Religion at home; and that if by that means, than which nothing could be thought on more feaſible, he could not ſettle that Religion, he might at leaſt ſecure it, and make Matters eaſy to thoſe of his own Perſuaſion.

6. That if his Majeſty perſiſted to make War againſt *Holland*, which would inevitably draw on one with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if his Arms did not prevail ſo far as to come to an entire Conqueſt, he was certainly ruined, and all the *Catholicks* in the three Kingdoms along with him, without reſource, and would periſh unpitied, and without any Hopes or Poſſibility of Succour from any Catholick Princes but the *French* King alone: And that if on the contrary, as it was the moſt unlikely thing in the World, he ſhould prevail to a Conqueſt over *Holland*, and his own Country, yet thereby he ſhould, under the colour of an imaginary Eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion in the *Britiſh* Kingdoms, but ſettle an irreligious Tyrant over all Chriſtendom, worſe to the Catholick Religion and Chriſtianity in general, than any Heretick in the World, nay than the very *Turk* himſelf, and who would inſolently trample upon the Pope's, as well as his Fellow-Princes Power, and ſet up a new Empire and a new Religion of a third ſort, neither Catholick nor Proteſtant, but ſuch as ſuited with his own ambitious Deſigns; as the Steps he had already made that way, did ſufficiently declare: And ſo inſtead of reſettling the *Roman Catholick* Religion where it had loſt Ground, and in the Soil of *Great Britain*, which would prove but a Quick-Sand to it,

it, he would destroy it all over *Europe*, where it was now established *in terra firma*, &c.

I'll leave it to the Decision of your Lordship's Judgment, whether these or the *French* Remonstrances carry'd most of Reason, Probability and Truth in them; as I ever shall all that comes from,

My Lord,

Your Honour's
most Humble and
most Devoted Servant.

Paris, Apr. 30.
1688. N. S.

LETTER CXIV.

Of the Differences continued between the Pope and the French *King; and of King* James's *sending an Ambassador to* Rome, *to reconcile them.*

My Lord,

I Have already transmitted to your Lordship the Contents of his Holiness's Letters to the *French* King, about the *Regale* and Franchises; but there seems now to be a Disposition in these two high-stomached Princes to come to an Accommodation; and the Conjuncture of time lies so to the Heart of this Court, that I am apt to believe they will precipitate an Agreement. However, because their Forwardness therein might be disguised as much as *French* Policy could effect, they have by their Agents insinuated to our King, that an Embassy to *Rome* from him about accommodating of the aforesaid Differences must be very grateful to his Holiness, who paid more deference to his Majesty, and would further regard his Mediation than any Prince in Christendom; and that

tho

tho the *French* Court ſtood very ſtiff upon their Rights, yet it was not to be doubted, but as they had ſo high a Valuation for his Friendſhip at all times and occaſions, ſo he might be confident that in ſo critical a juncture of time, they would not be ſo purblind as not to ſee wherein their true Intereſt conſiſted. It was no ſooner, my Lord, propoſed to the King, but accepted by him; and my Lord *Howard* is already arrived in this Kingdom, in his way to *Italy*, as the King's Ambaſſador extraordinary on this Errand. But notwithſtanding this Court has ſo far prevailed by their Artifices in *England* to procure the King's Mediation, yet an Accident, if it may be called ſo, has lately happened at *Rome*, which may perhaps blaſt all the blooming Hopes entertained from this mighty Negotiation: for Monſieur *Lavardin*, Ambaſſador from this King at *Rome*, receiving Information that ſome of the Pope's Marſhals were got within his Quarters, he order'd his Men to ſeize them, and commit them to ſafe Cuſtody. The Cardinal *d'Eſtree* has endeavoured to alleviate the Matter, and mollify his Holineſs's Reſentments, ſaying, 'That certain Perſons, who 'were no great Friends to *France*, had ſet them at work, 'with a Deſign to irritate Matters yet further between 'the two Courts; that he might be pleaſed to conſider 'that in the poſture Affairs then ſtood,' that is, after his Holineſs had accepted the Mediation of the King of *England*, 'it would look ill to admit any Innovation.' But the Cardinal was asked, 'Whether the King of *France* 'was Sovereign in the City of *Rome*? And ſuppoſing he 'had been really ſo, was there any Juſtice to arreſt Peo-'ple as they walked along the Streets, that had a Deſign 'to make no manner of Attempts upon any? That it 'was never yet known in any Country, or heard of in 'the World, that any Law condemn'd a Man upon a 'bare Suſpicion: but ſuppoſing that were true, as it was 'not, yet it was moſt certain that the Puniſhment was 'reſerved to the Sovereign, and not to an Ambaſſador; 'who, whatever Latitude he would have allowed to his 'Authority, could not pretend to any more than to be

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'independent in his own Person: That as for his Domes-
'ticks, if they pretended to the same Exemption with
'himself, it was no farther allowable than they demeaned
'themselves regularly, as they ought to do; for if they
'did otherwise, they were subject to the ordinary Juris-
'diction of the Place they were in: That there were
'a thousand Examples for it, tho there had been some
'Ambassadors who had endeavoured to extend the Pri-
'vilege of their Domesticks so far, as to maintain that
'they ought to be affranchised. That this pretended
'Right of Sovereignty by Ambassadors was so far from
'being true, that they had not as much as Power to
'punish their own Servants; for there could not be any
'one Example produced, that any Ambassador has intru-
'ded so far, as to condemn any Person whatsoever to
'Death, tho there have been many that have justly me-
'rited such Punishment: That it was true, they had
'sometimes reclaimed them when fallen into the hands
'of ordinary Justice; but that at the same time it had
'always depended upon that of the Sovereign to con-
'cede that Favour to them, or refuse them, according
'as they were more or less just.' These things being granted, which could not be otherwise, for they carry'd their own Light with them; how could it be justify'd that a bare Ambassador should dare to arrest not only his own Servants, but the Officers of a Sovereign Prince, and that even in his Capital City, and to heighten the Extravagance of such an Action, even in the very sight of him?

Thus, my Lord, has the old Gentleman resented the Injury, and I am afraid our King will have but little Joy of his Embassy, and in this Particular come short of his Grandfather's Motto of *Beati Pacifici*: however, his Zeal here for the Good of the *Roman Catholick* Church is highly applauded; but whether it be a Zeal without Knowledg, I'll leave to your Lordship to determine, and think my self happy in any Opportunity to serve you; who am,

Paris, July 2. 1688. N. S.

My Lord,
Your very Humble Servant.

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LETTER CXV.

Of the Seven Biſhops being committed to the Tower *of* London; *and the* French *Intrigues to embroil that Matter.*

My Lord,

THE Commitment of the Biſhops to the *Tower*, and the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, are things ſo agreeable to the *Guſto* of this Court, that they are overjoy'd at it; about the former of which this Court has been very buſy. I will not poſitively ſay the *Presbyterians* had the firſt hand in it, tho they have taken care to enter it into our Minutes ſo; and that they being willing to make ſome advantage of the Conteſts of the Court, got it ſuggeſted to the King, by the means of the *Romaniſts*, That in order to engage the Parliament to eſtabliſh *Liberty of Conſcience*, it was neceſſary the Biſhops ſhould be order'd to enjoin the reading the King's Declaration in their reſpective Dioceſſes: That the Matter could not be ſcrupled by them, ſince the Publication of the King's Orders had been at all times an Uſage in *England*, as well as in other Countries. But however this matter was firſt ſtarted, my Lord, I will not take upon me to determine, but it was carry'd on by ſtrange Inſtruments; for as ſoon as ever the Biſhops had refuſed to read the Declaration, and addreſt themſelves to the King upon that account with their Reaſons for Non-compliance, the Jeſuits about him, egged briskly on by ſuch as are entirely at this Court's devotion, repreſented to him the great Affront offered to his Authority, and the Regal Dignity it ſelf, by ſuch a Refuſal; and if he ſuffered the ſame to go impunedly, it might open a Gap for it to be

be trampled upon without reserve, and who could tell where it would terminate? That since he had already in all other points carry'd the Rights of Sovereignty to a great height, surely it was not now time to dissemble and wink at an Adventure that put such narrow Bounds to his Regal Authority: That there was therefore an absolute necessity to call them to a severe account for such an audacious Act: That they might be try'd by virtue of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and with as much Justice every whit suspended, as the Bishop of *London* was; and what would be a mighty advantageous Consequent thereon, was, that the Privation of the Episcopal Authority would advance the Regal Authority to such a pitch, as to be held in Veneration by all the People. You know, my Lord, the Success these Remonstrances have had; but the Variation of the Bishop's Trial is disavow'd by this Court, and the Cause of their being brought into *Westminster-Hall* attributed to the Chancellor's swaying the King, and for which some have gnashed their teeth at him. Upon the Acquitment of the Bishops, the *English* Jesuits were horribly spited, and the *French* Emissaries laughed in their sleeves; and that they might embroil the Nation more, had Orders to insinuate into any whom they thought fit for their purpose, That the Regal Authority had that Property in it, that it oftentimes subsisted more in Imagination than Effect: That if the People did but once know their own Strength, they would find it an easy matter to shake off the Yoke which certain Puissances imposed upon them; and with a great deal more, but in general Terms, to the same purpose, with which I shall not at present trouble your Lordship. But they have at the same time spirited up the Jesuitical Court-Faction to importune the King, without any Intermission, to review the Bishops Cause, and bring them on to another Tryal; alledging to him, that the not doing it would undoubtedly add a Triumph to the People, whereof they had already given but too clear Signs, and considerably augment the Audaciousness of his Enemies, who were more in number than he could imagine: and

that

that in ſhort the only way to put both the one and the other to a profound ſilence, was by not flinching from that Reſoluteneſs and Conſtancy which he had made to appear ſince the beginning of his Reign ; for if he once began to flag therein, it would be quickly ſeen, he would proportionably ſink in Reputation. That therefore great Care ſhould be taken to retrieve this again, ſince, unleſs that were done, he muſt neceſſarily fall into a greater Contempt with his People than he was aware of, and from whence many Inconveniences would ariſe, ſome of which could be as little foreſeen as it would be hard to prevent them. That therefore, as the Caſe ſtood, it were much more adviſable for him to run the riſque of another Tryal, wherein if he ſucceeded, his Sovereign Authority would be not only maintained and kept entire, but the greateſt Opportunity put into his hands to extend the Bounds of it as far as he pleaſed: but if it ſhould happen otherwiſe, and that the Biſhops ſhould be acquitted a ſecond time, which (as they deſigned to concert Matters) was not very likely, the Caſe would then be but the ſame, and no other than now, and as much to be feared from the one as from the other. But, it ſeems, the King was ſo diſpirited with the ill Succeſs of the firſt Tryal, that they found him entirely averſe to venture on another ; and therefore being not able to divert him from his Reſolution of giving over that Game as loſt, they made it their buſineſs to give out, That the King was not minded the Biſhops ſhould have been caſt, that he had therefore given way that ſuch a Jury ſhould be returned, and their Cauſe to be ſollicited by all their Friends, as was a clear Demonſtration that he had uſed all theſe Methods to deliver them from the Difficulties wherein they had plunged themſelves, with this Deſign and Hopes, that the Senſe of his Goodneſs might reclaim them back to their Duty, and that for the future they might ſet a Pattern to others not to ſwerve therefrom. But I do not find by the Returns made hither of theſe Expedients, that they have met with any tolerable Succeſs ; your Lordſhip may know much better

than

than I, how this Affair is reliſh'd in the whole, and what is likely to be the Conſequence; and ſo I'll leave it to your Determination, and remain,

Paris, Aug. 8. 1688. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER CXVI.

Of the Prince of Wales's *Birth, with the Senſe of the* French *Court upon it.*

My Lord,

I Have upon another Occaſion hinted to your Lordſhip what Appearance of Joy there was at this Court for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*; but they are now not a little mortify'd at the Paſquils put forth in *England* and *Holland*, to render his Birth ſuſpected, and the whole to be only a piece of Court Legerdemain, to carry on the Catholick Cauſe: as for the latter, the Deſigns carry'd on againſt the King and his Adherents, as they are now no Secret to the World, ſo 'tis no wonder ſuch Pamphlets are connived at. Then for *England*, it is an Argument the Reins of Government are of late much ſlacken'd, and that the Regal Authority is much in the Wain, when the King and the Court's Honour is touched in ſo ſenſible a Part, and yet no Redreſs can be made thereof, nor efficacious Remedy apply'd thereto. But I muſt tell you, my Lord, That though this Court has not ſo much reaſon to be concern'd as that in *England* in this Point, yet ſuch things dare not be much more than whiſper'd here, becauſe that upon the firſt broaching of his being a ſuppoſititious Prince, there has been a very ſtrict Charge given, that none durſt preſume

to

to ſpeak of him otherwiſe than of a real Prince, neither dare the Courtiers even in private ſo much as emancipate themſelves to ſpeak otherwiſe, leſt they ſhould thereby, beſides tranſgreſſing the preſent Orders, give alſo a Jealouſy to old *Lewis* himſelf, that they deſign'd obliquely to revive the old Diſputes formerly raiſed about his own Legitimacy. But this I have heard them privately ſay, That could they have gotten away one of our Princeſſes (as I have formerly mention'd to your Lordſhip) to be marry'd here, and had had thereby another *French* Heir to put in, they believ'd the Prince of *Wales* would not be long-lived. But theſe things, my Lord, are tickliſh to meddle with at ſuch a Juncture of Time. I pray God to keep your Lordſhip from all Harm, and to increaſe the Honours of your Family; and thus I ſhall ever pray, whilſt,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 12. 1688. N.S.

I am, &c.

LETTER CXVII.

Of the Prince of Conde's *Feaſting of Monſieur the Dauphin.*

My Lord,

THAT the Dauphin commands the King's Armies upon the *Rhine*, I do not queſtion but your Lordſhip has heard e'er now, about which Affair this Court ſeems at this Juncture to be wholly taken up, ſo as that I have nothing of moment worth ſending to your Honour: but before Monſeigneur's Departure, the Prince of *Conde* had been pleaſed to regale him and all his Retinue, and that in a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent manner at *Chantilli*, where ſeveral Ladies had alſo a

ſhare

ſhare in that Divertiſement. The Prince, upon this occaſion, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a very extraordinary manner; he preſented himſelf before the Dauphin a great way in the Foreſt, where there were Illuminations, and receiv'd him in the Habit of the old Heathen God *Pan*, accompany'd with a curious Train, all in diſguiſe like himſelf; ſome like Shepherds and Sheperdeſſes, others repreſenting Satyrs, leaping and dancing at the Sound of Hautboys, Bagpipes, and ſuch like Muſical Inſtruments. The Dauphin being in this manner conducted to the Houſe, which cannot be ſaid to be ſuperb and ſtately, unleſs it be for the Gardens and Water-works about it, he was himſelf feaſted with a magnificent Supper, and ſeveral other Tables were ſet for his Court; where he continued for five Days, and was regaled in the ſame Plenty as at firſt, and from thence return'd highly ſatisfy'd to *Verſailles*. I muſt confeſs, my Lord, I could not forbear giving you this ſhort Account of the Entertainment, though it be ridiculous enough, eſpecially in the antick *Preludium* to it; but I know your Lordſhip has Goodneſs enough not only to pardon, but to take in good part whatever comes from,

Paris, Sept. 16. 1688. N.S.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient Servant.

L. E. T.

LETTER CXVIII.

Of King James's *ordering Maſs to be ſaid on board his Fleet, and of his going on board himſelf, to engage the Officers to turn* Roman *Catholicks.*

My Lord,

WHatſoever this Court is a doing in reference to the *Engliſh* Affairs at this time, there is little or no Appearance of it; but they ſeem to be much concerned at the Diſappointment our King has met with, in not prevailing with the Officers of his Navy Royal to become Catholicks: for me to make a Relation of that Tranſaction to your Lordſhip, I fear may be but *Crambe bis Cocta*; but your Honour being now remote from the Court at your Country Habitation, and that I believe we have here a truer Account of that Affair tranſmitted to us by the Agents of this Court, perhaps your Lordſhip will not think your Time ill ſpent in peruſing of it. It ſeems the Commiſſioners whom the King has ſent to the ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, to diſpoſe Mens Minds to a Willingneſs to take off the Penal Laws and Teſt, having generally found a grand Averſion in the People to that Matter, the King was ſo incenſed at the Report they made of it, and the invincible Stubbornneſs of the Nation, that he convened his Cabinet Council, and with them reſolv'd to caſhier all ſuch out of his Service as would not fall in with his Deſigns: but that all things might be opportunely executed, it was agreed he ſhould make himſelf ſure firſt of his Fleet and his Army, without whoſe Aſſiſtance they ſaw it was in vain to effect ſo ſudden a Change at once; wherefore he

gave

gave Orders that Maſs ſhould be ſaid on board his Ships: but there was ſuch Oppoſition made thereunto both by the Officers and Seamen, that the Prieſts, who went thither for that end, were forced to hide themſelves for fear of being thrown over-board; which they had like to have undergone, had it not been that the principal Officers, who maintain'd ſtill the Reſpect that was due to the King's Commands, had done their utmoſt to hinder it. But when the Matter came to be repreſented to the King, his Fury was raiſed to a high degree, tho he had for the time the Artifice to diſſemble his Reſentment; wherefore he reſolved to try whether his Royal Preſence might not operate more than his Orders, and therefore he went on board the Fleet himſelf, and having commanded all the Officers to bring him their Commiſſions, he asked them, Whether they were not reſolv'd to change their Religion and embrace his, who had beſtow'd their Offices upon them, in expectation that they would do whatever he commanded them? They were ſurprized at the Compliment, and expected no ſuch thing; nevertheleſs, being reſolv'd not to be frighten'd with Menaces, nor be gain'd by Flatteries, they generally anſwer'd, That how devoted ſoever they were to his Majeſty's Service, and their own Fortune, yet they could not be induced to any thing againſt their Conſciences. To which the King replied, That what he required of them could by no means be prejudicial to them, whatever their Miniſters might tell them to the contrary; that there was more of Opinion than Reaſon in the Religion which they profeſſed; that they ſhould take the pains to reflect duly thereon, for which he would grant them the ſpace of 48 Hours.

But though moſt of them did believe from Words ſo poſitive by the King, they ſhould certainly be caſheer'd, yet they reſolv'd to ſplit upon that Rock rather than alter, whatever came of it. The King, in the mean time, who had truſty Spies in all the Ships, having learnt their Reſolutions, for all his Eagerneſs in the matter, did not think it adviſable to puſh on things over-far at that

time; wherefore he ordered they ſhould be told, when he ſent them back their Commiſſions, That the 48 Hours which he had allotted, being not ſufficient for the determining of an Affair of ſo great Importance, he was pleaſed to allow them ſome further time to think of it, but that they would pleaſe him to conform themſelves to his Will on that occaſion. In the mean time, though the Politicks of this Court have been much uſed in *England*, yet herein they have been laid aſide, and there is an eſſential Difference between the one and the other: for in the Choice which our King makes of Officers, he had rather they ſhould have Service than Profit; whereas in *France* they will have both the one and the other if they can, and for want of which, Profit is always preferred before Service. I'll not cenſure ſuch an Attempt, but I am aſhamed we ſhould be laughed at both here and in other Countries for our Politicks; and your Lordſhip knows as well as any Man living, that when wiſe and experienced Stateſmen have ſat at the Helm, they never would ſuffer the Regal Authority to be put upon ſuch an Hazard, well knowing the leaſt Reſiſtance made thereunto is a Triumph to the People; but *ſperamus meliora*. I am,

My Lord,

Paris, Sept. 25.
1688. N.S.

Your Lordſhip's to command.

LET-

LETTER CXIX.

Of the Count d'Avaux's *acquainting the* French *King with the Prince of* Orange's *Preparations againſt* England.

My Lord,

THE Ambaſſador of this Court, Monſieur the Count *d'Avaux*, at the *Hague*, hath tranſmitted a poſitive Account hither of the great Preparations made in *Holland* for ſome grand Expedition, eſpecially by Sea; intimating that the Prince of *Orange* ſeems to have other Deſigns in his View than thoſe of a vigilant Stadtholder, for the maintaining the *Dutch* Fleets and Armies in a good Poſture, now other neighbour Nations are in Arms. You know, my Lord, Mr. *Skelton* is now Envoy in this Country from *England*, as he was ſome time ago in *Holland*; who while he was there, whether really or maliciouſly I will not determine, was pleaſed to tranſmit an Account to the King of the Prince's holding Correſpondence, and carrying on ſome Intrigues with his Subjects to his prejudice. He had ſome Relations in the Princeſs's Family, by whoſe means he had an opportunity to inſpect into ſome Letters, from which he took upon him to pick out as much as gave him to underſtand, that there were ſome Matters agitated underhand, that tended to the King's detriment, yet as far as I could learn, the King gave little heed to his Informations; but what the Count *d'Avaux* has given his Maſter an account of, hath been eſteem'd worthy of Conſideration, and added here ſome Reputation to Mr. *Skelton*'s Agency, whatever it may do in *England*: and I am aſſur'd, my Lord, from ſuch Authority as I dare rely on, that the *French* King has preſs'd his

Brother of *England* to give that heed to it which it deſerves, and to take ſeaſonable Precautions to defend his Dominions from a powerful Invaſion, wherewith they are threatned. My Lord, I deſire to know with the next Conveniency whether I may be free to continue my Correſpondence with your Lordſhip, eſpecially if I find Matters of this nature tranſacted; for I would not for any thing in the World bring your Lordſhip into the leaſt *Præmunire*, but in all things ſtudy to ſerve you with the exacteſt Diligence and humbleſt Obſervance, which I ſhall always ſtrive to do; who am,

Paris, Oct. 6.
1688. N.S.

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Servant.

LETTER CXX.

Of the Means whereby Mr. Skelton *came to know of the Deſigns in* Holland *againſt King* James, *and of his acquainting the King his Maſter therewith.*

My Lord,

MY laſt imported ſome Intimations to your Lordſhip of Mr. *Skelton*, when the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, his diſcovering ſome ſecret Correſpondence, negotiated between *England* and *Holland*, as he judged, to his Maſter's diſadvantage: I have alſo noted how the King had been advertiſed of it from this Court, where Mr. *Skelton* is now in the ſame Quality, as at the *Hague*; and who, I can aſſure your Lordſhip, has made a further Progreſs to unriddle the Intrigue ſince his Arrival, by the means of one whoſe Name is *Budeus*

de

de Verace, a Proteſtant of *Geneva*: who having been ſome time ſince Captain of the Guards to the Prince of *Orange*, and having had the misfortune to kill a Man in a Duel, was caſheer'd by him. Mr. *Skelton* being then at the *Hague*, and acquainted with the ſaid *Verace*, found a way to reconcile him to his Maſter by the Recommendation of my Lord *Clarendon*, who having brought up his Son, my Lord *Cornbury*, at *Geneva*, was under great Obligations to *Verace* for the good Offices he had done him, and Care taken of him. This *Genoeſe* being thus re-eſtabliſh'd in the Favour of the Prince his Maſter, had it ſeems a greater ſhare of it than before, as he had alſo in the Secrets of Monſieur *B*———, his Favourite; however it was, it ſhould ſeem by the Sequel, that he was now, by his ſecond Introduction to Favour, become quite of Mr. *Skelton*'s Intereſt, who was the Inſtrument to reconcile him: for not long ſince he has taken occaſion to be diſſatisfy'd with the Service he engaged in, and withdrawn; and being, as was given out, upon his Return to his Native City of *Geneva*, he took occaſion to write a Letter to Mr. *Skelton*, now in this City, 'That the Noiſe about the Armament 'in *Holland* was ſo far from being a falſe thing, or 'otherwiſe to be conceiv'd, that it was a Matter of the 'higheſt Importance, and did no leſs than concern 'the Safety of the Crown of his Maſter, the King of '*England*; and that it was highly neceſſary he ſhould 'be made acquainted with a Son-in-law, whom he knew 'not.' This he deſired Mr. *Skelton* to communicate to the King with all ſpeed, but he was not willing to make any further Diſcovery of his Secret to any other ſave to the King himſelf in Perſon, if the King were ſo pleaſed as to ſend him Orders by Mr. *Skelton* to come and attend him: upon the Receit of which Letter from the ſaid *Genoeſe*, Mr. *Skelton* hath writ five or ſix Letters to the King in a very preſſing, lively and urgent manner; but what effect they have had upon him, may be the Subject of another Letter, and perhaps of my next,

if my Intelligence fail me not: in the mean time I am, and ſhall be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble and Devoted Servant.

Paris, Aug. 14. 1688. N.S.

LETTER CXXI.

Of the Slights uſed to make King James *negligent to provide againſt the Invaſion from* Holland.

My Lord,

I Do not find Mr. *Skelton*'s Inſtances have had any great effect upon the King towards quickning his Pace to ward off the Blow that ſeems to be preparing to be given him; and I have ſomething more than a Suſpicion, That it is the Deſire of this Court the Kingdom ſhould be invaded, and that the Agents of it have been extraordinary buſy to countermine whatever Advices have been given the King for taking a timely Precaution to defend himſelf: ſo that there is, my Lord, in this Caſe a Wheel within a Wheel; and whatever open Profeſſions of Kindneſs are ſhew'd him from hence by a timous Premonition of his Danger, there is as great Care ſeriouſly to thwart all by contrary Counſels. And amongſt other things, it has been eagerly urged to him, That the Prince of *Orange* continues to carry himſelf towards him with ſuch a Conduct, as could not leave the leaſt room to entertain any Suſpicion of him: and could it be thought that a Prince who had ſhew'd his Devoirs to him, ſo far as to make his Compliments, as other Princes had done, upon the Birth of his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and cauſed the Name of his new Brother-in-Law to be added

to

to thoſe of the Princes of the Family, for whom they Pray'd in his Chappel; ſhould be unſincere, or have the leaſt Deſign to moleſt him or his Kingdoms by Arms? eſpecially ſince *Van Citters*, the States Ambaſſador, had particularly aſſur'd him, That what Preparations were made in *Holland*, did not regard *England*; but had given him to underſtand, That *France* had a great deal more reaſon to be alarmed than he. But after all, whatever were intended by ſuch Preparations, which they were well aſſured were much greater in Fame than in Reality, his Majeſty's Affairs were in ſo good a poſture, that he had no reaſon to fear any Enterprizes whatſoever; That he had a Land-Army, a Fleet, and ſuch good Magazines, as were ſufficient to render the Efforts of almoſt all the complicated Powers of *Europe* ineffectual, though ſuch a Conjunction was as little to be expected as that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would abandon him; who, if he ſaw occaſion, as there was now but little likelihood, would not fail to ſupport him with all the Power of *France* both by Sea and Land. I will not be further troubleſome to your Lordſhip, but remain,

Paris, Aug. 18. 1688. *My Lord,*

Your Humble Servant.

LETTER CXXII.

My Lord S—— *charged by ſome of the* French *Faction with Treachery to his Maſter King* James.

My Lord,

IF your Lordſhip ſhould ask me, What the real Deſigns of this Court are in reference to *England* in ſuch a conjuncture; they ſeem to have other Sentiments

now of the Invaſion than they had a few days ago; when they were ſecretly promoting the ſame might and main, as I have intimated not long ſince to your Lordſhip, with a View to engage us in a Civil War, and thereby bring the King under a Neceſſity of calling in ſuch a *French* Power to his Aſſiſtance, as he ſhould never be able to force out again: but now they ſeem to be quite againſt it, upon the Oppoſition made by a great Miniſter of State to their Offer, both of Men and Ships upon this occaſion; of whom they talk ſtrange things here, and ſay, That in regard to the King, however he has inſinuated and winded himſelf into his Favour more than any they could recommend or propoſe, he muſt be an Enemy reconciled only in a way of Policy and Neceſſity; That he had in former Parliaments puſhed on the Bill for his Excluſion with greater Eagerneſs and Warmth than any other; That he had never attempted to recover his Favour, but when he had a Proſpect to injure him thereby; That he is a Man intent to follow the prevailing ſide, but that he had always, in caſe of any Change, a ſafe Retreat to the other ſide; That whilſt he adhered to the Factions in Parliament againſt the Royal Family and Intereſt, he had ſtrict Correſpondence with one of King *Charles*'s L———, who found a way to reconcile him to his Majeſty, and by his Mediation to the Duke of *York*: That being now come to be Prime Miniſter of State to the King, and almoſt the only one he had ſince his Elevation to his Brother's Throne, he had ſerved him with Zeal, while there was a Proſpect of Proſperity to attend him; but that he hath now no ſooner perceived there is a Party formed againſt him, than he hath ſhewed himſelf ready to enter into a Correſpondence with his Enemies againſt him; That the Counteſs of *S*———, writing to the Princeſs of *Orange*, that their Uncle *H. S.* a Man deeply engaged in that Intereſt, was gone into *Holland* to attend the Prince, was no ſmall Proof of her Husband's being engaged in the ſame Intereſts: That there could be no other Conſtruction made of the Violence done to the King

his

his Master, by his engaging of him, notwithstanding all his Aversion to it, to advance Father *Petre* against his own Inclination, maugre the Opposition made by the Queen to it, and in spite of the most essential Laws of the Order he was of, to be one of his Privy Council: That the King thereby, in satisfying of him, did on that occasion lose that Right which one should think he had to dispose of his own Subjects: That nothing else could be inferred from this Lord's Procedure and Carriage in the imbroiled Affair of the Bishops, which he brought on into the Council, and which he yet favour'd underhand: That it cannot otherwise chuse but that the Contempt which this Minister has affected of all the Informations given the King his Master of the Designs of the Prince of *Orange*, his Son-in-law, and of the *Dutch* against him, whereby he has in a great measure diverted him from using the Means necessary to resist any Attempts made upon him, or Impressions on his Dominions; must proceed from an ill Principle and Dissatisfaction to his Interests. I hope your Lordship will not take this Freedom ill at my hands, which is nothing else but the Sense of this Court upon the present Occasion, and with which I shall conclude; who am,

Paris, Oct. 28. 1688.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant.

LETTER CXXIII.

My Lord S—— *excuſed by others of the* French *Faction, as to his Conduct in reſpect to the Prince of* Orange's *Deſign againſt King* James *and his Adherents.*

My Lord,

THE Cenſure of this Court upon the late Conduct of a noble Peer and prime Miniſter in *England*, as mentioned in my laſt to your Lordſhip, is not ſo univerſal, but that there are divers others who have entertain'd a quite contrary Opinion of him; and ſay, That it is far enough from being an infallible Rule, that a reconciled Enemy can never become a ſincere Friend: That it is poſſible a Man may reſerve unto himſelf a Place of Refuge and Retreat among a contrary Party, and yet be far enough from falling in with its Intereſts: That the Suſpicions of him are without any manifeſt Ground, ſince there is not the leaſt Appearance that he hath perſonally linked himſelf with his Maſter's Enemies, or held any Correſpondence with them that tends to the betraying of him: That what his Lady had done with the Princeſs of *Orange*, tho it might be liable to Suſpicions in ſuch a Conjuncture, is no ſufficient Proof or Reaſon that the ſame Crime ſhould be attributed to the Earl her Husband: That Col. *S*——, tho his near Relation, might yet deceive him, and make him believe that his Paſſage into *Holland*, was to no other end than for the Benefit of his Health, and a Journey to drink the Waters of the *Spaw*: That to ſay he turned *Roman Catholick* that he might the better ſerve the Proteſtant Intereſt, was ſo ridiculous in it ſelf, as to need no Confutation:

That

That as for the Buſineſs of Father *Petre*, the Earl did nothing but what every wiſe Stateſman would have done, *viz.* to ſeek out one on whom might be diſcharged the Envy of ſuch things as ſhould diſpleaſe the People in the Court-Conduct, and ſo eſcape it himſelf: That as for any Enterprize by the Prince of *Orange* and the *Hollanders* againſt ſo potent a King as his Maſter, who was incompaſſed with ſo great an Army, it might appear to be ſo extraordinary and ſtrange a thing to him, that he might believe it his Duty to neglect ſuch Advices as things unlikely, and not far from ridiculous: And that now at length he finds himſelf obliged to believe them to be real, thoſe ſame Forces which the King his Maſter has on foot, might make him opinionative to reject the Succours offer'd him from hence, which he looks upon to be as well dangerous as unneceſſary. But which of the Cenſures is moſt agreeable to Truth, I'll leave to your Lordſhip's Determination; and remain,

My Lord,

Paris, Oct. 31.
1688. N. S.

Your ever obliged Servant.

LETTER CXXIV.

Arguments uſed by the French *Agents to gain King* James's *Conſent to receive* French *Succours into* England, *and anſwered by my Lord* S——.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip cannot but know of the Buſineſs of Cardinal *Furſtenburgh* about the Electorate of *Cologn*, and how he is ſupported by this King, whoſe Arms are advanced that way. It may be you

have ſeen Monſieur *Bonrepos* alſo at *London*, whoſe Inſtructions were to offer to the King, in his Maſter's Name, That however his Forces are already advanced towards the *Upper Rhine*, and ready to enter upon Action; yet finding the Danger his Majeſty was like to be in from *Holland*, he was willing to prefer his Intereſts, who was his Friend, before his own: And that if he found the King demur upon the matter, he was to tell him, That his Majeſty ought to conſider the thing not as it was in it ſelf, but in the preſent Circumſtances of it: That it might be juſtly feared his Work was not to oppoſe only the Armies of others, but that he ſhould be well aſſured that thoſe very Armies, with which he deſigned to reſiſt his Enemies, did not hold Intelligence with them, and concur againſt him in the ſame Deſigns: That the chief Officers that commanded his Army were faithful to him to ſuch a degree, as to be Proof againſt being corrupted, which could not be ſaid of the other parts of the State, who were well known to be corrupted; which his Army, if they did not already, muſt ſhortly know. From whence he was to infer, that if the ſame Corruption ſhould unfortunately happen to creep into the Army, as well as elſewhere, the King, in refuſing foreign Succours (which in conjunction with thoſe who ſhould prove faithful Subjects to him, would make at leaſt a Party) would leave himſelf expos'd, without any Defence, to all the Forces of his Enemies. My Lord, you cannot imagine how highly diſſatisfy'd this Court is at the Rejection of their Aid; and that my Lord *S*———'s remonſtrating to the King, That the introducing a foreign Army into his Dominions that were *Roman Catholicks*, and eſpecially *Frenchmen*, would wound his Reputation very deep, and quite alienate the Nation's Affections from him, and be a Confeſſion of all the Rumours that had been ſcatter'd abroad of a private League made between him and *France*, for oppreſſing both the Liberty and Religion of his Country: And beſides the King had Forces enough of his own, and to ſpare, for the reſiſting of all the Efforts of *Holland*:

land: That his Fleet alone was able to ſtop them, and that let it be as it would, his Land-Army could not fail of being Conquerors over them, being both much more numerous, and withal better diſciplined, had entirely fixed him in the ſame Reſolution. I do not queſtion but this Court will do the Earl all the Diſſervice they can, for ſpoiling ſo brave an Opportunity of their getting footing with their Troops in *England*: However he has ſerved his Country, and deſerves well of it, whatever his Fate may be. I am,

My Lord,

Yours in all

Humble Obſervance.

Paris, Nov. 2.
1688. N. S.

LETTER CXXV.

Of Mr. Skelton's *Negotiations in* France, *with the Reaſons of his being recalled, and committed Priſoner to the Tower of* London.

My Lord,

I Cannot conceive but they are as much in the dark with you about Mr. *Skelton*'s Impriſonment in the Tower upon his Arrival in *England*, as they are concerned for it here. I have already given your Lordſhip an account of ſome of his Negotiations both in *Holland* and at this Court, and with your Honour's leave ſhall endeavour a little further to unriddle this Myſtery of his Impriſonment. When all the Arguments of this Court uſed by Monſieur *Bonrepos* to induce the King to admit of ſome *French* Troops into his Country, under pretence of aſſiſting him againſt the Prince of *Orange*, were obviated by my Lord S——'s Remonſtrances and Aſſiduities,

ties, you cannot conceive the Concernedneſs that appeared here at the grand Diſappointment. Mr. *Skelton* was almoſt oppreſſed with Enquirers into the reaſon of ſuch a Procedure (not knowing well then from what Quiver the Arrow was taken that ſhot down the *Goliah* of all their Hopes of once neſtling in *England*) who examined, interrogated him, and almoſt laid it to his charge, that their Advice was not followed. But having at length found it to be otherwiſe, they reſolved to put him upon another Expedient, mentioned firſt by himſelf, to ſerve his Maſter, as they ſaid, tho nothing is more certain than that it is their own Intereſt they deſigned mainly thereby: for one day, after Monſieur *de Croiſſy* had preſt him hard ſtill to ſollicite his Maſter to accept of the Troops and Ships offered him by *France*; Mr. *Skelton* anſwered, 'That it was in vain, he having Or-'ders to meddle no farther in that matter, and therefore 'durſt not move in it.' He alſo added, 'That yet he 'was of opinion, that if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty 'would order his Ambaſſador to acquaint the *States Ge-'neral* what ſhare he took in the Affairs of the King his 'Maſter, and to threaten to attack them in caſe they 'undertook any thing againſt him, he did believe that 'would quickly put a ſtop to the intended Invaſion, 'and ſpoil the Meaſures the Prince of *Orange* had con-'certed thereupon, without giving the *Engliſh* occaſion 'to complain their King had called Foreigners into 'their Country. That this would be an effectual means 'to keep part of the King's Enemies on this ſide of 'the Sea, and they might have leiſure enough to break 'off the Cabals which the other formed at home againſt 'him.' This Diſcourſe made Monſieur *de Croiſſy* haſten to acquaint the King with it, who liked it ſo well, that he immediately diſpatched away a Courier to Monſieur the Count *d'Avaux* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, with Orders to declare to the *United Provinces*, 'That they 'could not attack the King of *England*, who was ſo in-'timate a Confederate with him, but that he muſt be ob-'liged to ſuccour him with all the Aſſiſtance he could.'

The

The States having paused a little for an Answer to this Memorial, presently upon it being encounter'd with another from the Marquiss *d'Alberville*, the *English* Ambassador there; they answered the latter, 'They were long since 'convinced of the League between the two Kings: That 'they had armed in imitation of other Princes, *&c.*' Which being interpreted here, that the States were resolved to go on with the Invasion, it raised the Expectations of this Court, that the Tender of their Troops would be still accepted of by the King: But the Vigilance and Sagacity of my Lord *S*—— disjointed also this Project, and ended in the Recalling and Imprisonment of Mr. *Skelton*, for moving in an Affair for which he had no Orders. And this also, my Lord, has stopped *Verace* the *Genevan*, whom I formerly mentioned to your Lordship, who is come to *Paris*, from proceeding on his Journey for *London*, as supposing it to no purpose to give such Informations as would not be regarded; and he is now, I hear, about returning back to his own Country. I hope things are well with your Lordship in these times of Difficulty; had it been otherwise, I do suppose I should have heard it, that I might have stopped my Intelligence: And that all may continue to be well with you, is the unfeigned Desire of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Obedient Servant.

Paris, Nov. 8.
1688. N.S.

LET-

LETTER CXXVI.

Of the Prince of Orange's *landing in* England, *and Succeſs; with King* James's *Speech to his chief Officers.*

My Lord,

THOUGH the *French* Arms this year have had mighty Succeſs on the *Rhine*, yet the landing of the Prince of *Orange* in *England*, without any Oppoſition, and the Succeſs he has met with ſince his Arrival; together with the Defection of ſome Horſe to him under my Lord *Cornbury* (though they ſay here, but a very ſmall number) has damped all their Rejoicings. And indeed if we may judge of their Hearts by their Looks, we may ſee plainly that they have given over not only their own Game on that ſide of the Water for loſt, but that they look upon that of the King's ſo too, almoſt beyond all hopes of Recovery. But yet that they may make ſome ſemblance of Zeal ſtill for his Service, their Creatures have adviſed him to call together his chief Officers, and to tell them, That he had given Orders for the calling together of a free Parliament, as ſoon as a more ſettled time would give him room to hope for ſuch: That he had reſolved to provide for the Security of the Religion, Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects, as far as they themſelves could deſire or wiſh for: Could there any more be expected from him, he was ready to grant it; but deſired if after all this there was any one diſſatisfy'd, that they might declare it: That he was ready to give unto ſuch as thought not fit to tarry with him, Paſſports to go to the Prince of *Orange*, and that he would freely pardon them their ſhameful Treaſon. This Speech, and the Effects it has had, your

Lordſhip

Lordſhip may know much better than I; but it is now talked here, that it has met with ſo little Succeſs, that moſt of thoſe Perſons whom the King had convened as aforeſaid, have formed a cloſe Conſpiracy againſt him, and to cut their way ſhort, reſolved to ſeize his Perſon; and that my Lord C—— being pitched upon to execute the Deſign, he dextrouſly engaged the King to go and view the Van-guard of his Army, which was that part of it which was poſted neareſt the Enemy: That the King was ready to take coach and ride thither, when his Noſe falling to bleed on a ſudden, obliged him to ſtay for that time, and put off the Review till another Opportunity. But before that day was over, he had good Information given him, that there was a Deſign formed to ſeize him, and that meaſures were concerted to have him carry'd away to *Exeter*; and that my Lord *C*—— upon that, with ſome others, withdrew to the Prince of *Orange*, as did the King to *London*. I would not have troubled your Lordſhip at this time, but that I know you expect I ſhould give you the Sentiments of this ſide upon our Affairs, and what part they take therein: Which, with my humbleſt Duty to your Honour, is all I have at preſent to impart to you; who am,

Paris, Dec. 4. 1688. N. S.

My Lord,

Your's to ſerve and obey.

LET-

LETTER CXXVII.

Of the Queen and Prince of Wales's *going over into* France.

My Lord,

THE King's Affairs are looked upon here to be loſt beyond all human relief, and the Prince of *Orange* is now as much dreaded, as they heretofore made a ſemblance of deſpiſing and neglecting of him: tho, in reality, there were ever ſince I have known this Place, ſecret Fears of his great Conſtancy, Policy and Courage, hanging upon this Court; and all the Hopes they have now left, and the only Twig to hang by, is his *Petite Highneſs*, who, after great Difficulties, is with his Mother arrived here, and of whom ſome of their Attendance give a lamentable Relation, That upon my Lord *Dartmouth*'s refuſal to let the young Gentleman croſs the Seas, he was carried back to *London*, whither the King was alſo come from *Salisbury*; who with the Count *de Lauzune*, who preſented himſelf at Court the 21ſt of the laſt Month, concerted meaſures for the Eſcape of the Queen and her Son. Signior *Riva* an *Italian*, and one of the Queen's Servants, and Monſieur *de Labadie*, another of the King's, Perſons of approved Fidelity, were intruſted to provide all things neceſſary for their embarking, and for their Journey from *White-Hall* to the place where the Ship lay. They ſay it was not without very great Danger of being ſtopped and diſcovered, that the Queen and the Child got out of the Court, at a time that every thing was ſuſpected, and when the Infant's crying might have been a means to have broken all the beſt Meaſures in the World. They were put into a ſtrange Diſguiſe, and ſo made their eſcape

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by the way of unfrequented Stairs and Places, croſt the River of *Thames*, and took the Road which leads from *London* to *Graveſend*, where Monſieur *de Labadie* had ſtopped a Veſſel to tranſport them into *France*; and all the while the Child did not ſo much as once cry. They were in danger ſeveral times to be ſeized by Sentinels, and a Concourſe of People, who ſuſpected all whom they did not know, to be fugitive *Papiſts*, and looked upon their eſcape as a Prey that ran away from them. While they were on the *Thames*, they were encountred with Wind, Rain, the fluctuating of the Waves in the Horrour of a Night ſo dark, that they could not ſee one another. The Queen on the other ſide of the River waited for a Coach, near the Walls of a Church, which was harneſſed in a neighbouring Inn, being all the while expoſed to the Rain, which continued with great Violence: But the Curioſity of a Man who came out of the Inn with a Candle in his hand, put her into a great fear, leſt ſhe ſhould be known; for the Perſon advanced directly towards the Place where ſhe ſtood, when Signior *Riva*, who perceived him, immediately follow'd and encounter'd him briskly, ſo as that both of them fell into the Dirt, by which Diverſion the Queen eſcaped undiſcover'd, and the Man thinking that what befel him was the Effect of Chance, they both began to excuſe the matter, which proceeded no farther. When the Coach was got ready, they rid away with all ſpeed, and came to the Ship, where *Labadie*'s Wife, who had ſome Acquaintance with the Captain, appearing firſt, did ſo amuſe him with a Story, That the Queen was an *Italian* Lady, returning with her Family into her own Country, till the Queen was got ſafe on board, and lodged in the Cabin appointed for her, together with the Nurſe that carry'd the Infant. The Marquiſs and Marchioneſs of *Powis*, the Counts of *Dalmon* and *Montecuculi*, with other Perſons of her Retinue, did embark at the ſame time with the *Iriſh* Captains, ſent on purpoſe by the King to have an eye over the Commander of the Veſſel, in caſe they found him any way refractory and deficient in his

Duty.

Duty. But of this, they ſay, there happened to be no occaſion; for the Ship being under ſail, they had an eaſy Paſſage, and landed at *Calais* on the 11th of this Inſtant. She deſigned to have ſtaid there for the King her Husband, who, according as they had concerted Matters between them before their parting, was to follow her the next day; but not finding the King come, ſhe went for *Bologn*, where two Friers and an Officer, that have made their eſcape out of *England*, informed her of the Misfortune that befel her Husband at *Feverſham*, and which your Lordſhip can tell much better than I. From *Bologn* ſhe journey'd to *Montrevil*, and from thence to *St. Germains*; where ſhe and her Son have had honourable Reception of the King, and where King *James* is hourly expected. This, my Lord, is the Relation they give here of their Flight, and dangerous Eſcape, which they count little leſs than a Miracle, and a preſerving both of the Queen and her Son to a much better Fortune. But tho this Court put a very good mien upon the Matter, and talk high; yet it is at the ſame time very diſcernable that they are not a little mortify'd at the Strangeneſs of the Prince of *Orange*'s Succeſs, and the Suddenneſs of the Revolution. Which, with my humble Reſpects, is all I have to communicate at this time; who am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt
Devoted Servant.

Paris, Jan. 2.
1689. N. S.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

JUST as I am a cloſing of this Letter, I am inform'd the King is alſo arrived at *St. Germains*, and has met with no leſs Honours from King *Lewis* than if he were poſſeſs'd of his Dominions and Subjects Affections, in as ample a degree as ever he has or could be.

My Lord,
I am, &c.

LET-

LETTER CXXVIII.

Of the Prince of Orange's *Arrival at* London.

My Lord,

THIS Place is very barren of News, though there is ſomething, I am ſatisfy'd, a brewing, which will appear in time; and all that is novel and extraordinary ſeems to have been tranſplanted to the *Britiſh Iſles*, from whence we hear, that the Prince of *Orange*, who, they ſay, is always intent, and ever was, to improve favourable Conjunctures, hath taken advantage of theſe Movements to make his Entry into *London*; where, 'tis confeſs'd, but with much Regret, he hath been receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy and publick Applauſe (but they ſay it is nothing but what is uſually done to Newcomers) having been felicitated upon the Succeſs of his Enterprize, and thanked for the Zeal which he had teſtify'd for the Good of the *Engliſh* Nation. 'Tis alſo reported, That the Nobility have met together, and pray'd him to take the Adminiſtration of the Government upon him, till the Eſtates of the Kingdom can be call'd together; which is dreaded here by both Courts. I can aſſure your Lordſhip, there have been Inſtructions iſſued out from hence already to their Agents at *London* (where they have a great Number, though under various Diſguiſes) to countermine whatever Projects may be on foot for the eſtabliſhing a Settlement in *England*, and of which I ſhall endeavour to tranſmit to your Lordſhip the Particulars. I am,

Paris, Jan. 27. 1689. N. S.

My Lord,
Your very Humble Servant.

LET-

LETTER CXXIX.

Inſtructions given to the French *Emiſſaries, to infuſe into ſome* Engliſh *Peers, upon the Subject-matter of King* James's *deſerting of the Crown, in favour of his Intereſt.*

My Lord,

IT is not doubted here but that there will be ſtrong Efforts made for the advancing of the Prince of *Orange* to the *Engliſh* Throne; and by the Returns made of Members to ſerve upon the preſent Occaſion in the Lower Houſe, it is concluded that their Procedures will be much in favour of his Intereſt, and conſequently to the diſadvantage of this Court; and therefore they have taken care to give them a Bone to pick, though I know not well what it is for the preſent: but of the Houſe of Lords they have entertain'd a more favourable Opinion. But foreſeeing that whatever is agitated among the Commons, is alſo likely to creep into a Debate among the Lords, and that the King's Religion, his evil Adminiſtration, his Retreat out of the Kingdom, and the Compact between him and his People, may be call'd in queſtion; they have, by way of Precaution, given Inſtructions to their Emiſſaries ſlily to infuſe into any ſuch Peers as they judge ſuſceptible of ſuch Inſinuations (but I cannot think your Lordſhip of that Number) That it was true, the King's Religion had been a main Cauſe to bring thoſe Misfortunes upon himſelf and the Nation, which they labour'd under; but hereby it could not be thought that it ſhould be as much as once debated for a ſufficient Ground to exclude him from his Throne: That this would appear ſtrange in the ſight of all Nations,

tions, that a Popiſh Prince was incapable to ſway a Scepter, when even in *England* it ſelf there had been no leſs than forty *Roman* Catholick Kings, who had govern'd *England* from King *Egbert* to Queen *Elizabeth*: That it was but the other day that all the Kingdom had by Addreſſes on purpoſe diſavow'd that Maxim; That the two Univerſities had condemn'd the ſame for an Error, and that the Parliament in 1685. did believe it a thing ſo pernicious and deſtructive to a State, that they were minded to brand with Infamy all who would have excluded the Duke of *York* from the Succeſſion: That all the Nation having acknowledged this Prince at a time when he made open profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, it would be a ridiculous Inconſequence to pretend that that ſame Religion was an hindrance to his reigning as King of *England*; and that as for any previous Compact that might be alledged by ill-diſpoſed Men to have been between King and People, it was a pernicious chimerical Notion, often condemn'd as a Gap open'd to ſeditious Practices for the imbroiling of the State: That ſurely that Retreat could not be call'd a *Deſertion* in the King, full of Diſcontent, and finding himſelf abandon'd by his Subjects to the Mercy of a foreign Nation, eſpecially ſeeing the Royal Character he bore did but expoſe him to the Inſults of the People, and his Perſon to the hands of a Prince that impoſed Laws upon him, ſeized him in his own Dominions, and gave him Umbrages that ought to preſage greater Dangers unto him: That the Offers he had again and again made to the Nation, and even to the Prince of *Orange*, who protected it, to treat with them amicably, to leave nothing undone for the redreſſing of their Grievances, could not but be adjudged Reparations ſufficient for thoſe Faults that were imputed to him: That the Letter he had writ, left behind him at *Feverſham*, and order'd to be printed, with ſeveral other Letters which he had actually writ to divers Perſons, aſſerting his Authority and Claim; and, That the Proteſtations, which no doubt he would make againſt any Acts of the Aſſembly to meet, if any ſuch ſhould happen

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pen in disfavour of him, which could hardly be credited; and the Measures which he had taken, and whereof they heard enough every day, and would doubtless more and more daily, for the Recovery of his Dominions, were evident Demonstrations that he had not renounced them; and, That if they were deserted by him, it was because his Person was in no Security there, and not the Throne, which he still looked upon as a Property appertaining to him alone: That he was not the first and only King, even of *England*, that had made this Step; That *Ethelred*, in the time of the *Saxon* Kings, retired into *Normandy*; and that among the Royal Stem of the *Plantagenets*, *Edward* IV. past over into *Flanders* without King *Henry* VI. his Competitor's believing that he had thereby acquired a new Title to the Crown: That as to the present Conjuncture the King found himself in, the Condition of Kings would be very hard, if they of all Mankind were the only persons who were not allow'd the Favour to shun a Danger they were expos'd to, and which could not be avoided but by fleeing from it; and that surely it was a Man's Prudence, when he saw his House on fire beyond a Possibility of extinguishing it, to save his own Life, and attend an Opportunity to rebuild it again, since he could not save it from burning. What Successes, my Lord, these Remonstrances have met with, or may still, it may be your Lordship can tell; but I can tell you, if this fails, there is another Mine to spring, whereon they rely very much, and on which they intend to work with their utmost Diligence: but I pray God to keep my poor Country from falling again into their Snares, from which it now is in so fair a way of being deliver'd, and to inspire your Lordship, and other worthy Patriots, at such a Juncture, with a proportionable Zeal for the Good of it; and so I rest,

Paris, Feb. 6. 1689. N. S.

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most
Humble Servant.

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LETTER CXXX.

Upon the Throne's being declared Vacant *by the Convention, the* French *Emiſſaries were to endeavour to imbroil the Nation about the Form of Government to be eſtabliſhed among them.*

My Lord,

I Know not how it is in *England*, but Mens Wits here have play'd ſo liberally upon the Word *Abdication*, ſtarted in your Convention, and ſuch Raillery and Buſtle made about it, as can ſcarce be believed by any unleſs he were an Eye and Ear-witneſs of it; and believing at the ſame time they would never make any thing of it, but that the Precautions they had taken to manage the Upper Houſe, would fully anſwer their Expectations, the Grimaces they have ſince made upon their receiving certain Advices, *That the Throne had been declared vacant*, are not ſo ſurprizing, for one is a natural Conſequence of the other, as they are ſudden and ridiculous: though they are not yet quite out of hopes for their Emiſſaries have received previous Inſtructions, 'That in caſe their Remonſtrances to the Lords, as men-'tion'd in my laſt, would not do, then they ſhould 'chiefly turn their Batteries upon the Members of the 'Lower Houſe, by infuſing Notions into ſome of one 'ſort of Government as the beſt; to others, another; to 'gain time thereby, and concert mutual Jealouſies be-'tween the Parties: which would not fail of making the 'Prince weary of ſuch endleſs Wranglings, and ſo make 'him either aſſume the Government by virtue of his 'own Power and Authority; or elſe ſeeing no hopes of

'any Settlement, and that the Factions were so strong 'as not to be quelled, and so obstinate as not to be 'reconciled, to retire home, and leave them in a far 'worse State than he found them.' The Republican Party, which they knew to be but very few, they are to ply warmly with the 'Fitness of the Opportunity to set up 'a Free State once again; that perhaps the Prince of '*Orange* would be better pleased with it, provided he 'were made Stadtholder as he was in *Holland*, and greatly 'promote it, if he saw once a Tendency in any consi-'derable Members that way; that a Regency, which was 'like to be proposed upon the declaring the Throne 'vacant, could not be thought to be so agreeable to 'him, who knew well enough the publick Evils that 'were annex'd to such an Office: but that if it so 'happen'd, that the major part should carry it, that the 'Regal Dignity and Office should be continued, and that 'in the Person of another than King *James*, and by 'natural Consequence it be offer'd to the Prince of '*Orange*, yet surely they could not be so far want-'ing to themselves, as not to stickle that he should re-'ceive the Crown under such a Title as might come as 'nigh that Form of a Republick as might be, and lay 'a sure Foundation for the Introduction of it, when 'things were riper, at another turn of Government, which 'under such Circumstances could not chuse but quickly 'happen. And what could they better do, than to get 'the Kingdom declared Elective, which, as it was a de-'basing and diminution of Hereditary Succession, so 'it was a great step towards the erecting of a popular 'Government once more, which the Treachery and Hy-'pocrisy of one at the Head of it had destroy'd in the 'present Age, when it was in a fair way of giving 'Laws to all the neighbour Nations round it?' They have been further instructed, 'That if they found any 'disposed to favour the Title of *Conquest*, so far to 'promote it, as might in some measure give check to 'the other Factions, but by no means over-ballance 'them.'

But

But that these Practices may have as little Success as those mention'd in my last to your Lordship, is the earnest Desire and Hope of,

Paris, *Feb.* 15. 1689. N.S.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most Humble Servant.

LETTER CXXXI.

Of the Prince and Princess of Orange *being proclaimed King and Queen of* England, *&c.*

My Lord,

THIS Court is thunder-struck, that all their Counter-Plots and Designs have been render'd so ineffectual in *England*, where heretofore they seldom used to miss their Mark, and that they come to be assured by repeated Advices, that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* are declared King and Queen of *England*, &c. And what adds greatly to their Mortification, is the Circumstances of it, both as to the Title whereby they are declared, and the People of *England*'s previous asserting their Native Rights and Legal Privileges so vigorously, and thereby casting such an Odium upon the late Government, as can hardly be obliterated and forgotten in this Age. And now they begin to think, what may they not fear from a Prince who has been so much injured by them, had always the Honesty, as well as Courage and Constancy, to oppose their Incroachments; and now by this mighty Accession of Power has means enough to put a check upon their exorbitant Greatness, and perhaps force them to disgorge

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what they have been devouring of their Neighbours for many years paſt: which I heartily long to ſee effected, and wiſh King *William* and his Royal Conſort may be happier than *Auguſtus*, and better than *Trajanus*; and that your Lordſhip may flouriſh under them, whom I ſhall ever love and honour, though I cannot at preſent ſerve, becauſe of the Difficulty of ſafe Conveyance to your Hands: and therefore, till I can ſettle a ſure and ſafe Correſpondence, upon this Change of Government, with your Lordſhip, I remain,

Paris, Feb. 27. 1689. N. S.

My Lord,

Your very Humble Servant.

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